

THAI TITLES AND RANKS

Including a translation of
Traditions of Royal Lineage in Siam
by King Chulalongkorn

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THAI TITLES AND RANKS
Including a translation of
Traditions of Royal Lineage in Siam
by King Chulalongkorn

by
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FOREWORD

In the first drawer of the working card-file in my study is a series of cards designated "Thai Titles and Ranks." The information on them derives from a number of talks given by Professor R. B. Jones to his first-year students of Thai in the Spring of 1961. The fact that these cards now are worn and smudged and thumb-printed almost beyond legibility is testimony both to the indispensability of such information to students of Thai society, and to the great care with which Professor Jones has conducted his study of this subject.

The importance of accurate information concerning Thai titles and ranks goes far beyond the antiquarian's desire simply to know the distinction between the ranks of two princes, or the relative statuses of officials in the civil and military bureaucracies under the ancien régime. It surpasses also the historian's wish to explore the fine gradations of status at the court of an historical Thai king. The hierarchies of ranks and titles which so often bewilder Thai commoners little less than farang scholars are, by nature, the reflection of a complex and highly stratified social and political order, which by no means passed away with the advent of the constitutional monarchy and the abolition of many conferred titles in 1932.

It is altogether appropriate that Professor Jones should have chosen King Chulalongkorn to present the main body of his material. That king, a key figure in the development of modern Thailand, had both a thorough understanding of his own culture and an almost prescient sensitivity to the cultural implications of the changes he worked so hard to introduce. He was unusually successful in introducing the West to Thailand, no less than in explaining Thailand to the West. His essay reproduced and translated here may have been written primarily for the king's own edification, but it is significant that it was first published abroad only a few years after its composition. Professor Jones's additional remarks on the subject complement the king's treatment of a more narrowly-

defined subject, and provide a wider geographical and chronological context within which this important subject should be understood. For giving us such a comprehensive introduction to this subject, Professor Jones deserves the deepest gratitude of all who study Thai society.

David K. Wyatt

Ithaca, New York

June, 1971

PREFACE

Thai titles present a variety of problems for students of Thai culture. Though we most often use the titles as they occur without attempting to find non-existent western equivalents, the identities of the persons bearing the titles are often difficult to determine. Royal personages bear several types of titles--birth titles, variable titles of kin relationship to the reigning king, and often conferred titles as well. These latter titles in most cases involve new names too, which are the designations most often encountered in reference to such princes. Furthermore, there was always a noble by the same name, also conferred, as head of the prince's establishment. The same applies also to all conferred titles of nobility. To further complicate the situation in the case of nobles, conferred titles and names were also the designations of particular offices in most cases and thus could be conferred many times, serving as the official designation for many different persons at different times. (Other material symbols in addition to titles further served to identify the power and prestige of various officials and their offices, as will be noted in the essay of King Chulalongkorn in part.)

Aside from these problems the titles operate in well organized integrated systems which are of considerable interest in themselves, systems which had their beginnings as early as the fourteenth century and reached their culmination early in the present century, some six hundred years later, then disintegrated so rapidly that few now comprehend the details of these systems or their inter-relationships. But they are nonetheless important both to historical studies and to understanding interpersonal relationships today, for though these titular designations of status have largely disappeared the relationships and patterns of interaction have apparently been little affected as such. The patron-client basis for much interaction seems no less strong, but it operates now in a less easily defined and somewhat uncertain system. To attempt to define this system and its uncertainties is beyond the scope of this study. Rather its purpose is historical--to present

as clearly as possible the various systems of titles, their interrelationships, and something of their historical development insofar as it can be determined or inferred.

To the many Thai who have given invaluable assistance in pursuing this study I am most grateful. In particular I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to M. R. W. Akin Rabibhadana, M. L. Chotchoi Kambhu, Dr. Dana Thorangkul Lee, Mrs. Komkai Chongcharoensuk, and most especially to Dr. Ruchira C. Mendiones. To Mom Chao Sibphan Sonakul I owe a special debt of gratitude for her generous help and most enlightening discussions of this subject. Professor Frank E. Huffman was kind enough to provide the phonemic transcription used for the Cambodian data, and I thank also the many other colleagues with whom I have discussed this subject in relation to other countries in attempting to find comparable information for comparison. Needless to say, none of these gracious people bears any responsibility for errors of fact or interpretation that may be found in this study, which is far from complete. Many gaps remain which I hope can eventually be filled in as more sources of information come to light.

Ithaca, N. Y.

Robert B. Jones

1970

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INTRODUCTION

A thorough description of the elite hierarchies would seem to be a necessity for any comprehensive understanding of the social and political institutions of a nation, including absolute monarchies for such monarchs seldom did in fact enjoy absolute power. Certainly this has been the case in Thailand and several western scholars have dealt to a greater or lesser extent with the royal and noble hierarchies of Thailand. But as yet no very complete understanding of these systems and their interrelationships has been forthcoming. Until recently the best discussion has been that of Wales (1934) which has just recently been greatly amplified concerning Thai social organization historically by Akin Rabibhadana (1969). Nevertheless a full description of the system of royal titles and their correlations with the systems of noble and administrative titles is still lacking and Thai sources of information have not been easy to find.

Though Thai kings even before the establishment of the constitutional monarchy in 1932 were not literally absolute in power it is nevertheless true that only the king was fully qualified to make a definitive statement concerning royal titles. Thus it was only with the publication in 1958 of an essay dated 1878 on this subject by Rama V (King Chulalongkorn) that a complete understanding of the Thai system of royal titles has been possible, at least as it was during his reign. It is this essay, notable for its completeness and conciseness, that is reproduced here as a definitive statement along with a translation.

Two previous Thai kings have also dealt with this subject, and both are mentioned in Rama V's essay. The first was King Trailokkanat of Ayuthia in his Palatine Law (kòd-monthianban) of 1468, though the original has been lost and the present version of his laws dates from the reign of Rama I (1782-1809) in which some titles of nobility seem to have been updated. In this law the ranks of the king's children

are established but the designations, except for the lowest and highest, are titles of royal kin relationship and no other titles or subclasses are mentioned, nor are the descendants of princes mentioned.

The second statement was that of Rama IV (King Mongkut) in 1865 which dealt only with certain matters concerning the highest ranking princes. This decree is fully documented in Rama V's essay.

Though this essay was not published until 1958 Gibert (1884) and Bock (1884; probably from Gibert) must have had access to the manuscript, or at least to a version of it. Their accounts, as far as they go, follow closely the king's essay, though in less detail and with the absence of the entire section relating to ladies of the palace. Neither gives any source for his information.

Embree (1950) applied the term "declining descent rule" to the Thai system of royal titles. As we shall see later there is a good possibility that this "rule" was a development of the latter part of the nineteenth century as such, but perhaps with earlier beginnings. It is generally assumed that the Palatine Law of King Trailokkanat was derived largely from the Khmer system, and certainly by the latter part of the nineteenth century the Thai and Cambodian systems are very similar as evidenced by a decree issued in 1856 by King Ang Duong of Cambodia on the same subject. At that time the lowest title in the Thai royal system (mòmlŭaŋ) was possibly not yet firmly established. In addition the Cambodian system firmly established the conditions (i.e., rank of the mother) under which a title did not decline from one generation to the next. Twenty-two years later Rama V recognized the same principle, earlier established in Thailand by King Thaisa, but noted that there were no cases of its actual operation. In neither case, however, is there yet clear evidence that the "declining descent rule" was in operation at earlier times, and certainly there was no such rule among other Thai groups such as the Lao and Northern

Thai, at least as far as is known from present rather sparse information. Khmer influence in the Thai system thus seems clear. But there was also the reverse and an example can be cited concerning titles. As will be seen later the title câwfáa came into Thailand from Burma and was used briefly to designate the same status, that of a ruler, but then its status was reduced to that of a prince, and later this same title is used in Cambodia for the chief minister. It would seem that the general rule is that titles are borrowed for use in lesser status, or soon are reduced. But this is not entirely true for in Thailand Khmer titles were gradually acquired and superimposed on existing titles, themselves perhaps earlier borrowings, which then were reduced in status. The old Sukhothai title for the king, khŭn, a very early Khmer borrowing, was shortly replaced by phájaa which was also from Khmer, and this in turn was later replaced by more elaborate titles on Khmer patterns. Very shortly most of the Khmer titles for the mandarinate had been borrowed and adjusted until they were operating in the same relative hierarchy in Thailand as they did in Cambodia, and the early khŭn was reduced to the lowest level of recognized nobility.

Though Rama V ascribes the system of royal titles largely to the Ayuthia period, the development of the actual titles was, as we shall see, a gradual process which began after the middle of the sixteenth century and continued up to the reign of King Chulalongkorn himself. He was perhaps discounting the two lowest recently established titles since they were not considered to be princely titles but only designations of royal descent. Indeed there was even some question of the princely status of the next higher title, mòmcaŭ (grandchildren of a king), for while they enjoyed royal status, such a princess as a wife of the king was not considered different from a commoner wife in that her children were not eligible for the highest princely title, and if the king wished such a child to have that title it was necessary to first promote the mother to a higher rank.

On the matter of promotions within the royal hierarchy

King Chulalongkorn's explanations are not entirely complete. He points out that promotion was possible, at least during his reign, only from the rank of mòmcaŋ to phrá'ŋcaŋ, and his discussion centers primarily on the promotion of a king's mòmcaŋ wives for the reason just stated. But other mòmcaŋ could also be so promoted. These promotions were of two kinds, designated jóg or tân. The latter applied only to the individual so promoted. The former, jóg, applied to an entire sibling group including those as yet unborn. In this case the father would already have the title phrá'ŋcaŋ and raising his children to the same title would almost certainly involve raising the mother's rank as well if the prescribed system was to be followed, for the children already born would in fact be promoted whereas children born later would in effect have the title by birth by virtue of the mother's rank.

In discussing Thai royal titles the usual practice has been only to use the familiar birth titles--câwfáa, phrá'ŋcaŋ, mòmcaŋ, mòmraâdcháwŋ, mòmľuaŋ--but it will be seen in reading King Chulalongkorn's essay that these titles alone are inadequate for a clear understanding of the various ranks and hence the prestige and power of individual princes at the higher levels. The birth titles are convenient since they are unchanging, except for such promotions as noted above, but the accompanying kin titles are of equal importance and these change on the succession of a new king. In addition the krom titles that could be conferred on princes are the more accurate indicators of prestige. The details of this rather complex system seem to be only imperfectly understood by most people today, but the reason lies not in any changes or simplification of the system itself but rather in the great reduction in the numbers of princes. During the first five reigns of the Chakkri dynasty (1782-1910) three hundred twenty-five children were born to the kings of Thailand; since then only five have been born and four of these are children of the present king. Thus princes of any rank are few and krom titles are no longer conferred.

The situation regarding royal titles in other countries of Asia has been investigated for parallels and no information comparable in completeness to that supplied by King Chulalongkorn has yet been discovered for any of them. One may then wonder what compelled Rama V to set forth the Thai system in such detail. The explanation, I think, may lie in the fact that the great power acquired by the nobility over a considerable time was coming to an end and power was gradually returning to the king and the princes. In this situation he perhaps felt this to be a means of reasserting the traditional legitimacy of royal power. Moreover it came less than four years after what was apparently an attempt at a coup d'etat by the deputy king. In any case this was a transitional period, as it was also when King Trailokkanat issued his Palatine Law in 1468, and the parallel is difficult to ignore. The same could be said also of the reign of Rama VI who continued the reforms of his father and introduced many new ones of his own. In connection with these reforms he also issued a Palatine Law in 1913 regulating the ranks and titles of officials in the Palace Ministry, and though he made no mention of other ministries it is clear that some changes were made in them too, and all ranks and titles were being coordinated much more closely than before, including those of the military.

In preparing the translation of King Chulalongkorn's essay an attempt has been made to stay as close to the original as possible. The style of the essay is more characteristic of his letters and journals than of his formal writings and at times seems somewhat cryptic. Indeed there are instances where two readings might be possible and such instances have been resolved by reference either to other sections of the essay or to other sources. In no case, however, would the basic discussion have been materially altered.

One might almost believe that he had an English speaking audience in mind, too, for he makes liberal use of English words for clarification. And such clarification is often quite necessary, at least for westerners, as for example the glossing of the Thai word lāan as "grandchild" since the Thai word in-

cludes nephews and nieces as well and in the context the distinction is essential.

English words that occur in the text are given in the translation in quotation marks. Suggested translations or other identifications of Thai terms or titles which are included in transcription are given in parentheses. Editorial additions supplied for clarification are given in square brackets. Thai titles that are retained in the translation are rendered in phonemic transcription just as they occur in the text since they recur in various degrees of abbreviation, especially in reference to Thai kings. The exception to this is names of well known persons whose names have become established in western writings in one type of romanization or another. Kings of the Chakkri dynasty are identified as (Rama..) following the practice introduced by Rama VI (King Vajiravudh). This means of referring to the Chakkri kings has never been accepted in Thailand and King Prachathipog specifically rejected it, but it has become fairly general practice in the West as a convenience and so has been included here. So also with the following list of Chakkri kings with various designations by which they are known as appropriate, excluding however the lengthy formal coronation titles. The first entry is that segment of the formal title which Thai are most likely to use in informal situations. This is sometimes followed by other designations that have been applied to the particular king, and finally, in parentheses the names by which they are commonly known to westerners.

Rama I (1782-1809), phráphúdhájôodfáacùlaalôog; rádchákaantôn.

Rama II (1809-1824), phráphúdhálêedlâanâphaalaj; rádchákaan-
klaan.

The coronation names of these two kings are not known; the names given were bestowed on them by Rama III.

Rama III (1824-1861), phránâṅklâaw.

Rama IV (1851-1868), phrácōmklâaw; (King Mongkut)h

Rama V (1868-1910), phrácunlácōmklâaw; phrápìjámáhăarâad;
(King Chulalongkorn)h

Rama VI (1910-1925), phrámahăamonkùdklâaw; phrámonkùdklâaw;
phrámahăathiirâradcâw; (King Vajiravudh).

Rama VII (1925-1935), phrápògklâaw; (King Prachathipog).

In this case the king preferred to be known by his name as prince rather than by his coronation name, and so he is known to Thai and westerners alike.

Rama VIII (1935-1946), ʔaananthámáhidon; (King Ananda).

Rama IX (1946-), phuumíphonʔadunjádeed; (King Phumiphol,
 Bhumibol).

In the cases of Rama the VIII and IX their princely names were retained as coronation names.

[illegible]

၌ ကံမကုန်လှေကား

A Royal Essay

Traditions of Royal Lineage in Siam

phrábàad sǒmdèd phrápàráminthárámahāa cùlaalonkoon

phrácunlácóomklâw câwjùuhua

(King Rama V)

Saturday, the 5th lunar month, 10th day of the waning moon, Year of the Tiger, 10th year of the decade, 11th year of this reign, C. S. 1240, corresponding to April 27, B. E. 2421 (A. D. 1878).

The 11th Year of the Fifth Reign

(1) Differences between the Thai royal traditions and those of Laos.

Speaking of the traditions of royal lineage in Siam, they are different from those of other countries in many ways because the royal family has many members in several branches and lines, but the time when they are reduced to khurnaan (nobility) comes sooner than in other countries. So royal persons are not so numerous as in Lao states¹, as can be observed to the present day whether in Chiangmai or Luang Prabang, where royalty is not ordered in various ranks; all who belong to the royal lineage are called câw. There are even some of these câw in our own country in charge of nine or ten men.

(2) Changes in royal traditions.

The royal traditions of our country are different from those of Laos, but if one considers the traditions of the royal family in the chronicles of Ayuthia from its founding

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ស្ថាប័ន (៣)

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in C. S. 712 (A. D. 1350) to the present time, he will see that the traditions concerning titles and honors have been changed many times, but they were not changed completely. Only small changes were made as the rulers, in their wisdom, saw fit in order to preserve the royal family in good order while the country was still undeveloped. From the time when Ayuthia was established to about [C.] S. 900 (A. D. 1500's), about two hundred years, the traditions of the royal family remained much the same throughout. Since then they have changed to become almost the same as at present, with scarcely any differences.

(3) Royalty divided into four classes according to the Palatine Law.

Evidence of the antiquity of the ranks of the royal family is found in the royal decree kòdmonthianbaan (Palatine Law) which was promulgated in the time of sòmdèd phrá-raamaa thíbòdii I, the founder of Ayuthia, in C. S. 720 (A. D. 1358)², eight years after the founding of the capital. The name kòdmonthianbaan means 'for the preservation of the king's household.' That law sets forth the dignity and honor of the king, princes, greater and lesser officials who hold government office, and regulations concerning the deportment of officials to insure that they commit no offense to the king. But this law is phrased in archaic terminology and even some informed Thai, if they are not scholars, will scarcely be able to understand it at all. For this reason, though all Thai have heard about this law, they seldom know the substance of it, because they are too lazy to read and think. In that law câw (royalty) are divided into four ranks.³

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ရဲလဲလဲလဲလဲ (၃)

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ឆ្នាំ ២០២២ (២)

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បទ ១៩៧ ម្តងប្តី (ខ)

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(4) sǒmdèd nòo phráphúdtáacâw.

1. The first rank was phrácâw lûugthəə, born of the phráʔagkhrámáhesii (highest queen). He was called sǒmdèd nòo phráphúdtáacâw, held the highest rank in the royal family, and had to reside in the capital.

(5) lûuglúanʔèeg.

2. Another rank was called lûuglúanʔèeg. They were children of the king, and also their mothers had to be daughters of kings. So they were called lûuglúanʔèeg. Princes of this class were entitled to govern myanʔèeg (principal towns) such as Phitsanulok, Sukhotai, and Nakorn Rajasima (Korat), and could also be called lûugthəə kin myanʔèeg.

(6) lûuglúanthoo.

3. The next lower rank was the sons of the king whose mothers were lăanlúan, that is, the direct lăan of a king, who would be called 'granddaughter' in English. Princes born of such granddaughters of a king were also regarded as lûuglúan, but they had the privilege of governing myan̄thoo (secondary towns) such as Sawankhalok and Suphan[buri] because grandchildren of the king who have the title of sǒmdèd phrácâw lăanthəə were also entitled to govern towns such as Inburi and Phromburi.

(7) phráyawwárâad.

4. Yet another rank was the children born of phrá-sànǒm (minor wives, concubines). They were called phrá-yawwárâad, that is, minor princes, and they did not govern towns.

មន្ត្រីក្រសួង
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 ៣៣

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 ১৯৬৭-৬৮
 ১৯৬৮-৬৯ (২)

ក្រសួង
កម្មវិធី ២០១៤ (២)

(8) Saluting and walking according to rank

All of these four ranks of princes concern only children of the king. phráyawwárâad had to defer to princes of the first three levels mentioned above. Princes of these three levels had to defer to each other in the order of their rank regardless of age. There was no decree concerning age; the decree takes rank as the standard. If a prince had high rank but was very young in age, those of lower rank but advanced in years, even if they were his older siblings, his uncles, aunts or others, had to salute him and walk behind him.

(9) The title câwfáa came from princes who actually governed towns

The two ranks of princes who had the privilege of governing principal and secondary towns did actually go out to govern those towns, just like viceroys of colonies, under the sovereignty of the king. Because they did govern the towns like that everyone called them câwfáa.⁴ câwfáa means câwphèndin (king, lord of the land) or câwmyan (governor, lord of the town) in present day usage. There are still quite a number of Lao câwfáa, for example, câwfáa Hsenwi, câwfáa myanlỳg (?), câwfáa myanm̃ỹyd (?). Even when we were at war with the Haw (Yunnanese), in correspondence and reports the terms câwfáa myanthaj (Prince of Thailand) and câwfáa myanjuan⁵ (Prince of Northern Thailand) were used. This câwfáa actually means a câwmyan, but out of the desire to speak in lofty terms, they were called câwfáa (lord of heaven) as if they were lords from heaven, descendants of gods, because according to Indian tradition kings are supposed deities.

(10) According to the Palatine Law there were only two kinds of câwfáa.

There were only two levels of câwfáa. Children of the phrá?àgkhrámáhees̃i were not câwfáa. Children of phrásàñom

were not câwfáa. Only children born of a daughter or a granddaughter of a king were câwfáa. This was the tradition for 200 years after the founding of Ayuthia.

(11) Abolition of the tradition of sending princes to govern towns.

Later on the king perceived that during the past 200 years the allowing of princes to govern towns had resulted in many usurpations, and they sometimes joined the enemy and turned against the **capital**, their distant relatives, so he quietly discontinued this tradition. He did not announce that he was not going to appoint anyone anymore, but there have been no more who governed towns.⁶

(12) All are câwfáa

The position of câwfáa as governors of towns was still associated with princes who were sons and grandsons of kings; although they no longer governed towns they continued to be called câwfáa. Later on, when kings seldom had a supreme queen with rank higher than the others, those who would have been sǒmdèd nòo phùdthácâw could only be câwfáa. In time the rank of sǒmdèd nòo phùdthácâw completely disappeared and children of queens were simply called câwfáa like the children of daughters and granddaughters of kings. The rank of câwfáa is the highest princely rank. The only exception is when the king appoints one of his câwfáa sons to be the wane nâa (deputy king). This happened only occasionally. However, câwfáa still are entitled to a spear guard in processions like the king, as if they were still rulers. When they travel by boat they can also have a procession of boats, with oarsmen beating cadence as the king has. And they walk ahead of princes of lesser rank as mentioned earlier.

[illegible][illegible]

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[illegible]

- (13) Special status of câwfáa as distinguished from other princes.

Also by tradition the status of câwfáa is more illustrious than that of other princes in many ways.

- (14) Traditionally [câwfáa] may use the phrátâwbencàkháb.

He is anointed with water from the phrátâwbencàkháb which is the bowl used for anointing the king at the time of coronation. It is the traditional belief of the land that he who is anointed from that bowl and whose mother is not of the same royal family will be accursed. The Brahmins will not consent to anoint him. They will only anoint those who are câwfáa.

- (15) The Brahmins loudly recite verses when presenting an offering for Siva [to the prince].

Also after performing the triijampháwaa.j ceremony worshipping Siva by swinging [on the great swing] and singing the cháahǎn (song of the swan) the Brahmins will present an offering for Siva. For a câwfáa the Brahmin will loudly recite brahmanic verses in the same manner as if he were presenting it to Siva and to the king. If the presentation is made to any other prince he will be accursed.

- (16) When placed in the cradle there is a verse praising Mt. Krailat and khàbmáj music.

When a câwfáa is one month old a Brahmin will lift him into a cradle saying verses in praise of Mt. Krailat⁷ as if he were placing a hǎn⁸ in a cradle, then he will lull him with brahmanic verses. And there is a kind of music which can be performed only for the king and for câwfáa which consists of a sǎo (a kind of fiddle), two bandó? (small drums) and a singer. This is called khàbmáj.

(17) He has the cháalûuglûan.

After he is placed in the cradle he has an attendant to sing a lullaby called cháalûuglûan while he is sleeping, the tune and words of which are traditionally different from those used for other princes. It is composed with words of very high level. For example, phrásàdèd maa phàan phíp'hób pògpôn phráwonsàanúwon lèc rãadsàdôn (you came to rule the country in order to protect the royal family and the people).

(18) His naaŋnom (wet-nurse) and phîilîan (companion-nurse) are phrá? and he has a naajween (supervisor) and pàlàdween (deputy supervisor) [for his attendants].

His companion-nurse and wet-nurse can add the title phrá? [to their names] and are called phráphîilîan and phránom. In his krom four servants may be appointed as supervisors and four as deputy supervisors, or sometimes six of each, holding the posts of naajween tamrùad (Supervisor of Police), naajween máhàadlég (Supervisor of Pages), naajween fîiphaaj (Supervisor of Oarsmen), many or few, according as the prince is established as being more illustrious than other royalty.

(19) The ceremonial bath, the top-knot shaving ceremony, the [symbolic model of] Mt. Krailat, a lion's skin to sit on, the hair divided into five parts. The six-day top-knot ceremony becomes seven days including floating away the hair.

When a câwfáa is fully nine years old there is a procession to the river for the ceremonial bath under a pergola situated on a raft in the river. When the age for top-knot shaving is reached there is a [model of] Mt. Krailat. The procession for the top-knot ceremony lasts six days, or seven including the day on which to float away the hair. At the time of the ceremony the câwfáa must sit on a lion's skin, or an embroidered lion, like a king sitting on his coronation throne. At the time of shaving the top-knot the hair

is divided into strands. According to tradition royal persons have it divided into three parts, but câwfáa must have it divided into five parts, called bencàsìkhǒn, that is, like the god who is the harpist of Sivahand whose hair is divided into five parts. And he bathes in water pouring from the mouths of the four animals, just as the top-knot shaving ceremony has always been done.

(20) câwfáa hold rank equal to krommỳyn and when appointed⁹ to a krom office must be made kromkhùn or higher. By tradition câwfáa have unique dignity over other princes.

A câwfáa has status which is not appropriate to the rank of krommỳyn, and he has a dignity which differs many times over from other princes. For example, if he is a sǒmdèd phrácâw nǒonjaathæ câwfáa (king's younger brother), he will have a dignity of 20,000, and if he holds a krom office he will have a dignity of 50,000. If he is a sǒmdèd phrácâw lûugthæ câwfáa (king's son) he will have a dignity of 15,000 and if appointed to a krom office he will have 40,000. If either of these princes is appointed as ʔupàràad¹⁰ (deputy king) he will have a dignity of 100,000. By tradition a phráʔoncâw, if he is the king's younger brother, will have a dignity of only 7,000; the king's son by a minor wife [phráʔoncâw] will have a dignity of 6,000. The king's grandsons of câwfáa rank will have a dignity of 6,000. If any of these three latter princes holds a krom office he will have a dignity of 15,000. If one is only phrácâw lăanthæ (grandson or nephew of phráʔoncâw rank), such as children of the wannâa¹⁰ he will have 4,000, and if appointed to a krom office his dignity is increased to 11,000. These positions are very old, having been initiated in the reign of sǒmdèd phrá-borom trajlôogkànâad I, who came to the throne in hC. S. 796 (A. D. 1434)¹¹ which is still within the period of 200 years mentioned earlier. By studying these positions and dignities one will be able to understand how much higher in rank is a câwfáa over a phráʔoncâw.

- (21) câwfáa who hold a krom office do not discard their original names and are still known by those names

When a câwfáa holds a krom title, be it kromkhũn, krom-lũan, or kromphrá? he is not called by the title of that office, nor is his original name changed like other princes with krom titles. This is because when a câwfáa is officially named at the age of about eight or nine years, his name is engraved on a golden tablet--a long elaboration like my own. The gold tablet I received has my name engraved as sõmdèd lûugjaathæ câwfáa cùlaalongkoon bõdintháráthêeb máhãamonkùd bürùdrádtáná? rãadcháráwíwon wárúdom phonbõoríphád síri? wádtháná? rãadchákùmaan¹² as a child, or síri? wádtháná? rãadchá-wárooród¹² as a young man.

- (22) The elaborate name of a câwfáa includes his father's name, but that of a câwfáa princess does not; she has only a short elaboration.

In the elaboration of the names which each câwfáa receives it is indicated whose son he is. Included will be a name of the king who is the father of each one. For example, one name of phrábàad sòmdeð phrácõomklâw (Rama IV) is phõnsãadìsũan kràsàd, and a name of sòmdeð phrácâw bõrommáwonthæ câwfáa máhãamaalaa is máhìdsàraathíráad ráwíwon because they were the sons of phrábàadesòmdeð phráphúðthálêedlâa (Rama II) whose name included ?ìdsàrá?sũnthõn.¹³ I myself have the name bõdintháráthêeb máhãamákùd bürùdrádtáná? rãadcháwáraane kuun because I am the son of King phrábàad sòmdeð phrácõomklâw whose name included máhãamákùd.¹⁴ But a câwfáa princess has a short name which does not include the name of her father.

- (23) A câwfáa has a câwkrom (Administrator) of mýyn rank before he is appointed to a krom office. When appointed he uses his original name combined with that of his Administrator.

[A câwfáa] can appoint an Administrator, a pàlàdkrom

(deputy administrator), and a sàmbanchii (controller) to mýyn rank like any prince who holds a krom office. When he is appointed kromkhùn, kromlũaṇ, or kromphrá? his original name as given on the gold tablet which he received when very young remains unchanged. The name he receives when appointed to a krom office is not a princely name. It is the name of his administrator. To refer to the prince one must use his own name and the administrator's name together. For example, sòmdèd phráborommáwoṇṭhəə cāwfáa máhāamaalaa kromphrá? bam-ràab pòoràpàg. The deputy administrator is lũaṇ and the controller is khùn, in order of rank.

(24) [A cāwfáa] has blue enamel symbols of rank.

The betel tray and spittoon symbols of rank are of [gold with] blue enamel and are different from all other royalty. Other princes, even those with krom rank as high as krom sòmdèd phrá?, may not use enameled utensils. They must use plain gold unless they have them made for themselves and use them on other occasions than in the presence of the king. Later on, in the reign of King phrácòomklâw (Rama IV), the king gave blue enameled betel containers, but with plain gold trays, to some who had rendered service to the government, but they were very few.

(25) If a cāwfáa becomes king he can use the epithet ?ùbphá-toosùchâad as an elaboration of his name.

If a cāwfáa becomes king he can use the term ?ùbphátoosùchâad sǎnsùdkhrawhàni which is regarded by Thai scholars as meaning a person of purity. The word ?ùbphátoosùchâad means being of good birth in both lines. sǎnsùdkhrawhàni means a womb where an all pure birth takes place. When combined they can be interpreted as being 'born of a womb which gives pure birth from both lines.'

(26) When [a câwfáa] dies there is a mourning-maid and a public funeral pyre in the center of the city.

If he has the cháalûuglûaŋ lullaby when he is born, when he dies he must also have a woman to keen for him and a funeral pyre, large or small depending on conditions [in the country], is built in the center of the city.

(27) câwfáa are known as thuunkrà̀m̀m.

There is another term of reference which everyone uses to honor câwfáa, other than the rank given him by the king. câwfáa who are the sons of the king have been called thuunkrà̀m̀m. This word thuunkrà̀m̀m is not official, but only has come to be used often, just as among the nobility the word câwkhun has been used by servants, subordinates among the nobility, or government officials of lower or equal rank, for a government official who has the conferred title of phrájaa. But the word câwkhun cannot be used in official audience with the king. Such persons must be referred to by the title phrájaa as conferred. It is the same with the word thuunkrà̀m̀m. However, strictly speaking, if it may not be used in an official letter or in official address to the king, the word thuunkrà̀m̀m can sometimes be used, but only in private.

(28) câwfáa of the first class may be called thuunkrà̀m̀m.

Those who hear it might wonder whether the word thuunkrà̀m̀m is used only in special cases and not widely. In fact the word thuunkrà̀m̀m can always be applied to a câwfáa of the first class. Even though it may or may not be widely used by other people, his subordinates and servants will surely call him thuunkrà̀m̀m.

- (29) thuunkràmm̐m is not a conferred title. It is only used by the people.

A câwfáa sometimes called the king who is his father thuunkràmm̐m. The children of these princes also call their fathers thuunkràmm̐m. King phrábàad sǝmdèd phráccǝmklâw (Rama IV) said that was right according to tradition. But this title is not conferred by the king. It is used by the people and thus becomes another title distinguishing câwfáa from phrá'ǝncâw.

- (30) The top-knot shaving ceremony is sometimes held and sometimes prevented [by conditions]

Some of these traditional indications of status were used during the first two hundred years of Ayuthia and some arose after [those] two hundred years. câwfáa have continued to receive these indications of status up to the present time except for the top-knot shaving ceremony and the bathing ceremony which are very big and require many people. They are not given when affairs of state hinder. If there is no hindrance and they can be properly done, they are.

- (31) The status and power of câwfáa as mentioned above are peculiar to câwfáa who are sons of the sovereign. Others are like any other traditional royalty.

The position, status and power of câwfáa which have been mentioned here concern only the câwfáa who are sons of the sovereign. Other câwfáa have rank and dignity lower than the children of the king who are phrá'ǝncâw and will receive indications of status--the top-knot shaving ceremony, ordination ceremony, or whatever--equal to traditional royalty, or lower than some phrá'ǝncâw, according to their order of rank. What has been explained above must be understood to apply only to those câwfáa who are the children of the sovereign. The status of câwfáa children of the king, as mentioned, has been the custom from olden days and has remained up to the present day.

- (32) Of the royal paraphernalia allowed to be used in ancient processions only the klooŋcháanáʔh (Victory Drum) remain.

Those things which appear in the Palatine Law which can be said to be ancient things [used] for processions and various symbols of rank and status, and things [relating to] câwfáa of all levels, would be too long to list here and [would include] things which have been abandoned. Things which remain are only the Victory Drum and royal symbols granted by the king for use in the top-knot ceremony. To describe them in detail would be endless.

- (33) The tradition concerning câwfáa from later times up to the present includes seven types [of persons who] can be câwfáa.

I shall speak about persons whose status is suitable for câwfáa according to the tradition after the period of [the first] two hundred years. Concerning câwfáa as understood from the later times of Ayuthia to Bangkok for over three hundred years--which princes should be câwfáa and which should not--one must first understand that in the royal family [the status of] the mother is very much considered. If one reckons the persons who can be câwfáa [it will be found] that they are:

- (34) 1. At the founding of a dynasty [the king] can raise his older and younger siblings born of the same parents and his sons to be câwfáa.

A newly crowned conquering king changes the dynasty and establishes himself as lord. Such a king has the power to appoint câwfáa at will, but he should not deviate from the pattern of the past. He has some advantages over a king who succeeds to the throne in that he can raise his siblings born of the same mother to the rank of câwfáa and can also raise

any of his sons to be câwfáa. For example, phrábàad sǒmdèd phráphúdhájǒddfáa cùlaalôog (Rama I) raised to câwfáaerank his two older sisters and his son and daughter born of krom sǒmdèd phrá'amárintháraamâad. But sǒmdèd phrá'amárintháraamâad, who was their mother, was not raised to any sort of queenly rank. She was only made câw (royal) in order to be a suitable mother of câwfáa. These are one kind of câwfáa who are raised [to the rank]. However, the younger full brother of a king who succeeded to the throne properly, King phrábàad sǒmdèd phránâṅklâw (Rama III), seems never to have been raised to câwfáa rank. Whether it was because he died at a very early age or whether there was a custom prohibiting it is not known.¹⁵

(35) 2. The king's child born of a daughter of a king is a true câwfáa.

The king's child who is born of a daughter of a king has the status of a true câwfáa. For example, sǒmdèd phrácâw borommáwonṭhæ câwfáa máhâamaalaa kromphrá' bamràab pǒrà-pàg, who was the son of câwfáa kunthon, the daughter of phrábàad sǒmdèd phráphúdhájǒddfáa cùlaalôog (Rama I), and whose father was phrábàad sǒmdèd phráphúdháhlêedlâa náphaalaj (Rama II), was considered a câwfáa 'by right', as phrased in English.

(36) 3. The king's son born of a granddaughter of a king is a câwfáa.

Strictly speaking a prince born of a granddaughter of a king ought legally also to be câwfáa. But granddaughters of a king seldom have parents who are both câwfáa or phrá'ŋcâw in rank, so most of them have the lower rank of mòm-câw. As long as one is mòm-câw she is not suitable to be the mother of a câwfáa. If the king wishes to allow [her child] to be câwfáa he will also have to raise her [to the rank of] phrá'ŋcâw. For example, in the reign of King phrábàad sǝm-dèd phrácǝmklâw (Rama IV) a mòm-câw who was the daughter of phrá'ŋcâw lágkhànaanúkhun, the son of King phrábàad sǝm-dèd phránânklâw (Rama III), had been raised to phrá'ŋcâw by King phrábàad sǝm-dèd phránânklâw before she became a phrá-râadcháttheewii (lesser queen) of King phrábàad sǝm-dèd phrá-cǝmklâw (Rama IV), and she had a son who was a câwfáa. Also mòm-câw ramphəej, the daughter of krommŷyn mādtajaaphíthág, the oldest son of King phrábàad sǝm-dèd phránânklâw (Rama III), came to be a phrá-râadcháttheewii of King phrábàad sǝm-dèd phrá-cǝmklâw and was raised to be phrá'ŋcâw ramphəej phámaaphírom. She became the royal mother of four câwfáa princes. Such câwfáa as these are also câwfáa 'by right', but their mothers had to be raised to phrá'ŋcâw in order to be worthy of the honor of the câwfáa who are her children. But the king's sons born of granddaughters of a king as such may or may not be allowed to be câwfáa. The tradition is that a royal son born of the granddaughter of a king is a câwfáa, and if [the mother] is a phrá'ŋcâw then [the child] is a câwfáa, but if [the mother] is only a mòm-câw it is not certain for the king can oppose it.

- (37) 4. The king's son born of a daughter of the ruler of a vassal state can be a câwfáa.

The king's son born of a daughter of the king of a foreign country which is independent at that time is a câwfáa 'by right.' In the case of a country which was formerly independent and later became a vassal of Bangkok, but whose ruler still maintains his position, the king could make that ruler's grandchildren--his own sons and daughters--câwfáa if he wished. For example, phrábàad sǒmdèd phráphúdtáajǒod-fáa cùlaalôog (Rama I) promoted a phrá'ongcâw princess, born of a câwcoommaandaa (minor wife) who was the daughter of the King of Vientiane, to be sǒmdèd phrácâw lûugthæ câwfáa kunthonthíbp hájâwâdii. This kind of câwfáa is still considered a câwfáa 'by right.' But she is not so well respected as those whose mothers are of the same dynasty. In the reign of King phrábàad sǒmdèd phrácoomklâw (Rama IV), nágjîam, the daughter of King sǒmdèd phránáaroodom of Cambodia, who was made phrá'ongcâw kamphôodrâadchásûdaaduan, and tonkuu sǔbia, the younger sister of Sultan Mahmud of Lingga, were both phrásànǒm (minor wife) of the king who made it known that if they gave birth the children must be câwfáa according to tradition. But many people were strongly opposed to that.

- (38) 5. A prince whose mother is a câwfáa can be a câwfáa grandchild through his mother.

When a câwfáa princess who is either a younger sister or a daughter of a king, whether her husband is the king,

a câwfáa, or a phrá'oncâw of any level who has a krom title, gives birth to a son or a daughter, that child is a câwfáa through the mother, but with a lower dignity than the prince who is the father. He is a câwfáa in name only. For example, both the older sisters of phrábàad sǒmdèdphráphúdtáajǒodfáa (Rama I) had non-royal husbands and each had several sons and daughters. All these children had to be considered câwfáa through their mother. Later on a daughter of the younger of these sisters became a wife of phrábàad sǒmdèd phráphúdtáalâedlâa náphaalaj (Rama II) while he was still a prince and she had three sons all of whom were câwfáa. Such is the example. But the reader must understand that tradition forbids marriage between a câwfáa princess and a phrá'oncâw, and between a phrá'oncâw princess and a mòmçâw, or a khǔn-naaŋ (nobleman), or a foreign prince, or a prince of the royal family to whom she is not closely related. Therefore, câwfáa and phrá'oncâw princesses can only marry close relatives of equal or higher rank. This is why, by tradition, most câwfáa and phrá'oncâw princesses have not had husbands. If they are to have husbands they can only become phráràad-chátheewii of the king. Very few have had husbands other than the king because it would be very unfavorably received. So there are no câwfáa who have the title through the mother's family as described above who can be pointed out as examples at the present time. There are many only when a new dynasty is founded and princes newly created. câwfáa through the mother are considered such 'by courtesy.'

อย่าง ให้เห็นได้ในปัจจุบันนี้ มีมากอยู่ก็แต่เมื่อ
แรกตั้งบรมราชวงศ์ เป็นเจ้าชั้นใหม่ ๆ เจ้าฟ้า
โดยพระมารดาดังนี้ ก็นับว่าเป็นไบกอกเตสซี
(By courtesy)

(๓๙) ๖. เจ้าลูก
วังหน้าเลมารดา
เป็นเจ้าจะเป็น
เจ้าฟ้าได้ก็เพราะ
พระเจ้าแผ่นดิน
ใหญ่ทรงตั้ง

๖. ลูกวังหน้านั้นเดิมพระเจ้าแผ่นดิน
โปรดให้เป็นพระองค์เจ้าไว้ แต่ครั้งกรมพระราชวัง
ในแผ่นดินพระบาทสมเด็จพระพุทธยอดฟ้าจุฬาโลก
แล้ว ครั้นทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเจ้าองค์นั้น โดยเป็น
ลูกใหญ่ของวังหน้าบ้าง ได้รับราชการบ้างมีเชื้อวงศ์
ข้างพระมาศดาอยู่พอจะยกย่องเป็นเจ้าฟ้า ก็โปรด
ยกขึ้นให้เป็นเจ้าฟ้าพอเป็นเกียรติยศ มีตัวอย่างมา
สององค์ คือเจ้าหญิงพิบูลทอง ซึ่งเป็นพระราชธิดา
กรมพระราชวัง ในแผ่นดินพระบาทสมเด็จพระพุทธ-
ยอดฟ้าจุฬาโลก มารดาเป็นเจ้าลาวเมือง
เชียงใหม่โปรดตั้งให้เป็นเจ้าฟ้า แต่ที่มารดาเป็น
ลูกเจ้ากรุงกัมพูชาธิบดี ก็มีมารดาเป็นพระองค์เจ้า
พระธิดาเจ้ากรุงธนบุรีก็มี ไม่โปรดให้เป็นเจ้าฟ้า
ก็ต้องเป็นอยู่แต่พระองค์เจ้า ครั้นอยู่มาถึงกรม
พระราชวังในแผ่นดิน พระบาทสมเด็จพระนั่งเกล้ามี
พระราชบุตรเกิดด้วยพระองค์เจ้าดารา ซึ่งเป็น
พระธิดากรมพระราชวังที่ ๑ ก็ไม่ได้เป็นเจ้าฟ้า
เป็นแต่พระองค์เจ้าอิศราพงษ์ อยู่จนเป็นผู้ใหญ่
อายุจนถึง ๓๐ ปีเศษ ครั้นมาถึงแผ่นดินพระบาท
สมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว ได้รับราชการเรียบ
ร้อยแข็งแรงแรงมากก็โปรดให้เป็นเจ้าฟ้า โดยโปร
โมชัน Promotion แต่เจ้าฟ้าอย่างนี้ ไม่

(39) 6. A child of the wạnnâa (deputy king) whose mother is royal can be appointed câwfáa by the sovereign

Children of the wạnnâa have been allowed to be phrá'ỏn-câw from the time of the krom phráráadcháwan (i.e. wạnnâa) under King phrábàad sỏmdẻd phráphủdthájỏỏdfáa cùlaalỏog (Rama I)^h Later on, through the favor of the king, either because of being the eldest son of the wạnnâa, or because of services rendered to the king, or because the mother's family was of sufficiently high estate to allow promotion, [some] were promoted to câwfáa as an honor^h There are two câwfáa of this type^h Princess phíkunthỏon who was the daughter of the krom phráráadcháwan under phrábàad sỏmdẻd phráphủdthájỏỏdfáa cùlaalỏog (Rama I), and whose mother was a Lao princess from Chiangmai, was made a câwfáa. But there was [one] whose mother was the daughter of the King of Cambodia, and [one] whose mother was a phrá'ỏncâw daughter of the King of Thonburi, who were not made câwfáa and had to remain phrá'ỏncâw^h Later, when the krom phráráadcháwan under phrábàad sỏmdẻd phránânklâw (Rama III) had a son by phrá'ỏn-câw daaraa, who was the daughter of the first krom phráráadcháwan, he was not a câwfáa either. He was only phrá'ỏncâw ỉdsàráphon until he was thirty years old when, in recognition of his diligent service, King phrábàad sỏmdẻd phrácỏomklâw (Rama IV) raised him to câwfáa 'by promotion.' But such câwfáa may not use the title sỏmdẻd^h He may use only the title phrábỏỏwỏỏráwỏỏthẻ like phrá'ỏncâw^h Such câwfáa are installed only at the pleasure of the king. They are outside the pattern for câwfáa. A child of the wạnnâa may be a true câwfáa only when the mother is a câwfáa as explained above.

(40) 7. A king's son whose mother is the daughter of a minister of state who has rendered special service may also be made a câwfáa if the king is the first of a new dynasty.

This is yet another kind of câwfáa. This appears to have happened only once. In the reign of the King of Thonburi a daughter of phrábàad sǒmdèd phráphúthájôodfáa cùlaalôog (Rama I) had a son by the King of Thonburi, then she died. At that time phrábàad sǒmdèd phráphúthájôodfáa cùlaalôog held a high position and was called māhākāsàḍṣyg. He had the power of command in war like a king. As there were many wars at that time the King of Thonburi recognized phrábàad sǒmdèd phráphúthájôodfáa cùlaalôog as a lord in battle. Since the King of Thonburi achieved the crown through conquest, he had the power to appoint câwfáa as described in section (1). So he appointed that son, who was not a câwfáa 'by right', a special câwfáa. Besides that câwfáa there were also two other câwfáa born to the illustrious family of the King of Thonburi. But these two were câwfáa 'by right', unlike the câwfáa who was the grandson of phrábàad sǒmdèd phráphúthájôodfáa cùlaalôog. But later on, when phrábàad sǒmdèd phráphúthájôodfáa cùlaalôog became king by conquest this câwfáa became a câwfáa 'by right' because [his mother] was the daughter of sǒmdèd phrá'amárintháraamâad¹⁶ (a wife of Rama I) and must have been a câwfáa like her son who was a câwfáa.

(41) There are no câwfáa other than these seven prescribed classes

Persons suitable to be câwfáa, and who have been during three hundred years, have been princes in these seven groups only. Besides these the children of a king who are born to any phrásàñm (minor wife) can never be câwfáa.

There are three levels of rank for câwfáa. In the first level are câwfáa siblings, uncles and aunts [of the king].

If these câwfáa are separated according to the law of sàgdìnaa (dignity and honor), one will see that câwfáa who are younger brothers [of the king] are the first kind. For câwfáa who are uncles and aunts of the king the sàgdìnaa is not prescribed, but they seem to have greater honor than câwfáa who are younger brothers because the tradition observed in that law was according to age, not to closeness of relationship. Except for the dignities used at the present time, the old law has not been altered at all. Since there is no prescription in the law [for uncles and aunts] they are given the same [dignities] as câwfáa who are younger brothers so they must be included in the first level.

câwfáa children [of the king] are next lower in dignity.

The sàgdìnaa of [câwfáa] children of the king is a little less so they are considered a lower level.

câwfáa grandchildren [of the king] are in the lowest level because [when] they are appointed to krom they are the same as the usual krom princes [i.e. phrá'ongcâw].

By tradition câwfáa such as grandchildren are in the lowest level because even when appointed to a krom they only have rank equal to phrá'ongcâw with krom titles. But the popular approval and respect of the people goes according to the times, to closeness of relationship [to the king], and the purity of the mother[ès blood] in the royal family. So we have had câwfáa continuously up to the present time.

This agrees with opinions of King phrábàad sǒmdèd phrácǒomklâwh (Rama IV).

The story of câwfáa which has been given here is supported with examples in every case, and also it agrees with what King phrábàad sǒmdèd phrácǒomklâw wrote in the proclamation of a top-knot ceremony. This proclamation was written by King phrábàad sǒmdèd pàráminthárámahāmonkud phrácǒomklâw (Rama IV), dated Thursday, the eleventh day of the waxing moon, second lunar month, Year of the Ox, seventh year of the ten year cycle, C. S. 1227, being the 28th day of December, B. E. 2408 [A. D. 1865]. It was published in the periodical Bangkok Recorder, no. 1, p. 209, Tuesday, the fifteenth day of the waning moon, second lunar month, Year of the Ox, the seventh year of the ten year cycle, [C. S.] 1227, being the 17th day¹⁷ of January, A. D. 1866, [and] p. 221, Wednesday, the fifteenth day of the waxing moon, third lunar month, the 31st day of January, and in no. 2, p. 1, [Thursday, the fifteenth day of the waxing moon, fourth lunar month],¹⁸ the 1st day of March.

It was published in wáchírájaan wísèd from Thursday, the eighth day of the waning moon, twelfth lunar month, Year of the Dog, the eighth year of the ten year cycle, C. S. 1248 [A. D. 1886], no. 2, pp. 38, 46, 54, 62, 71, 78, 81, 93, to p. 102, on Sunday, the eighth day of the waning moon, second lunar month. It was published in Dr. Bradley's Bangkok Recorder in [C. S.] 1227.¹⁹

End of the story of câwfáa

(42) Five kinds of phrá?oncâwh

Here we shall discuss in order the royal sons and daughters of the king who, in the Palatine Law, are called phrá-yawwárâad, and other members of the royal family who have lower status.

[illegible][illegible]

២. ក្នុងករណីនេះ ប្រសិនបើ ប្រជាជន ក្នុងតំបន់ បាន ឃើញ ឬ ដឹង ពី ការ បំបែក ឬ បំប្លែង ប្រភេទ ដី ឬ ប្រភេទ ធនធាន ធម្មជាតិ ដោយ មិន បាន អនុវត្ត តាម ក្របខណ្ឌ ច្បាប់ ជាធរមាន ក្នុង តំបន់ ទី ១ ខាងលើ នេះ ក៏ ត្រូវ ទទួល បាន ការ ពិន័យ តាម ក្របខណ្ឌ ច្បាប់ ជាធរមាន ផងដែរ ។

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៩. ក្នុងបទប្បញ្ញត្តិ ២១២ ចំណុច ៣ របស់ក្របខណ្ឌ
 ៩២ របស់ក្រសួងសេដ្ឋកិច្ច និងហិរញ្ញវត្ថុ ។

[illegible][illegible]

၆. နယ်လွှာ ဖွဲ့စည်းပုံ၊ လုပ်ငန်း
 ဖွဲ့စည်းပုံ၊ လုပ်ငန်း
 ဖွဲ့စည်းပုံ၊ လုပ်ငန်း (၁၁)

[illegible]

សម្រាប់ ក្រុមប្រឹក្សាភិបាល ក្រុមហ៊ុន ឥណទាន
 ក្រុមហ៊ុន ឥណទាន ០០០០ (ប្រាំ)

(43) 1. The king's children.

All children of the king born to phrásàñm (minor wives), or those who are known as câwccommaandaa (minor wife who has borne a child), have the same rank. They are called one kind of phrá'ongcâw

(44) 2. Children of the krom phrârâadchâwan bowoon sàthāan monkhon fàajñāa (deputy king).

Formerly, during the Ayuthia period, the sons and daughters of krom phrârâadchâwan were not always the same. Some were phrá'ongcâw and some were mòmccâw. Later on during the Bangkok period, the king, recognizing that the krom phrârâadchâwan had fought many battles, allowed all [of his children] to be phrá'ongcâw. Since then they have together become another group of phrá'ongcâw.

(45) 3. Children of the krom phrârâadchâwan bowoon sàthāan phīmūg fàajlān (subdeputy king).

Sons and daughters of the krom phrârâadchâwanlān born to a recognized wife are another kind of phrá'ongcâw.

(46) 4. Children of câwfāa, and princes with krom titles born of phrá'ongcâw mothers.

Sons and daughters of câwfāa, krom princes, and phrá'ongcâw are also phrá'ongcâw if their mothers are phrá'ongcâw, just as the child of a câwfāa princess must always be câwfāa like his mother. These are another kind of phrá'ongcâw.

(47) 5. mòmccâw promoted to phrá'ongcâw.

mòmccâw who are children of krom princes or of phrá'ongcâw who are senior or who have many official duties can be raised to phrá'ongcâw without limit, just as the children of the wannāa are raised to câwfāa. But children of krom princes or phrá'ongcâw in the palace of the wannāa are never raised. Only children of krom princes and phrá'ongcâw in the royal palace--children of the king--are so raised.

៤. កម្មវិធីបង្កើនសេចក្តីស្រឡាញ់ និងការគោរពដល់ប្តីប្រពន្ធ ០០០' គឺ គេបង្កើនការស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ
 ចន្លោះ ក្រុមប្រពន្ធនៃកម្មវិធីបង្កើនសេចក្តីស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ បង្កើន
 កម្រិតចក្ខុវិស័យនៃការគោរពដល់ប្តីប្រពន្ធ បង្កើន
 កម្រិតចក្ខុវិស័យនៃការគោរពដល់ប្តីប្រពន្ធ ។

ପ୍ରମାଣ (୧୫)

សង្ខេបនៃការងារដែលបានធ្វើឡើងក្នុងខណៈពេលពីមុន
ដោយមានការចូលរួមពីអ្នកគាំទ្រ និងអ្នកជំនាញ

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ନେତୃତ୍ୱାଧୀନ ' ୭ (ସଂଖ୍ୟା)

[illegible]

ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ୧୫ : ଗୁଣବତ୍ତା (୨୫)

កម្មវត្ថុនេះ គឺជា កម្មវត្ថុ ដែល បាន បង្កើត ឡើង ដោយ អង្គការ យូណេស្កូ ។
 មាតិកា នៃ កម្មវត្ថុ នេះ គឺជា ផ្នែក មួយ ទៀត របស់ កម្មវត្ថុ ដែល បាន បង្កើត ឡើង ដោយ អង្គការ យូណេស្កូ ។
 កម្មវត្ថុ នេះ គឺជា កម្មវត្ថុ ដែល បាន បង្កើត ឡើង ដោយ អង្គការ យូណេស្កូ ។

(48) Classes of phrá'ongcâw are distinguished by prefatory titles.

Thus there are five kinds of phrá'ongcâw altogether. But these five kinds of phrá'ongcâw are not of the same class. The classes are very different from one another. The decreed differences in class are indicated by a prefatory title. There are many kinds of prefatory titles, and dignities are higher or lower according to these prefatory titles. They also serve to identify the class to which these phrá'ongcâw belong.

(49) 1. phrácâw borom 'ajjâkaathæ.

phrácâw borom 'ajjâkaathæchaaj and phrácâw borom 'ajjâkaathæjîn are the grandfather and grandmother [respectively] of the king. The word thæ means thân, that is, phrácâw pûu thân and phrácâw jâa thân.²⁰ It is always interpreted this way. This thân refers to the reigning king only.

(50) 2. phrácâw borommáwon.

phrácâw borommáwonthæ are the uncles and aunts of the king.

(51) 3. phîithæ, nóonthæ.

phrácâw phîijaathæchaaj (older brother), phrácâw phîinaantheajîn (older sister), phrácâw nóonjaathæchaaj (younger brother), phrácâw nóonnaantheajîn (younger sister) of the king.

Royalty of these three levels have equal dignities. Before holding a krom title they have 7,000; when they receive a krom title they have 15,000.

(52) 4. lûugthəə (royal children).

phrácâw lûugthəəchaaj (son), phrácâw lûugthəəjǐn (daughter) of the king.

(53) 5. râadchâwɔráwɔnthəə.

phrácâw râadchâwɔráwɔnthəə, both male and female, was a rank initiated in the reign of King phrábàad sǒmdèd phrá-coomklâw (Rama IV) because the king, being aware that when he ascended the throne the sons and daughters of King phrá-bàad sǒmdèd phránânkhlâw (Rama III) who had previously been lûugthəə (royal children), would have to be reduced to lăan-thəə (royal nephews and nieces) with the same dignity as phráʔɔncâw children of the waɲnâa, thought it inappropriate, so he made them phrácâw râadchâwɔráwɔnthəə, with dignities equal to those of his own children. Before holding a krom office they would have 6,000 and after receiving a krom title they would have 15,000, both these and his own children being equal to the first three levels mentioned above.

(54) All these five categories are phráʔɔncâw, first class.

All these five categories of phráʔɔncâw are sons and daughters of kings. Being elevated as a group apart all five categories are considered phráʔɔncâw, first class.

(55) 1. wɔráwɔnthəə, first class.

This group [is comprised of] the sons and daughters of the krom phrárâadchâwan (deputy king) in the reign of phrá-bàad sǒmdèd phráphúdhájjǔɔdfáa cùlaalôog (Rama I). They are phrácâw wɔráwɔnthəə, first class.

(56) 2. wɔráwɔnthəə, second class.h

Sons and daughters of the krom phrárâadchâwan in the reign of phrábàad sǒmdèd phráphúdhálêhđlâa náphaalaj (Rama II) are phrácâw wɔráwɔnthəə, second class.

(57) 3. woráwontheə, third class.

Sons and daughters of the krom phráráadcháwan in the reign of King phrábàad sǝmdèd phránâṇklâw (Rama III) are phrácâw woráwontheə, third class.

(58) 4. woráwontheə, fourth class.

Sons and daughters of sǝmdèd phrápṇinklâw (the second king) in the reign of King phrábàad sǝmdèd phráccomklâw (Rama IV), who are older than the present king, are phrácâw woráwontheə, fourth class.

(59) 5. bōworáwontheə, first class.

Sons and daughters of sǝmdèd phrápṇinklâw who are younger than the present king are phrácâw bōworáwontheə, first class.

(60) 6. bōworáwontheə, second class.

Sons and daughters of the krom phráráadcháwan²¹ in the present reign are phrácâw bōworáwontheə, second class.

(61) 7. phráʔoncâw lǎanthəə.²²

phrácâw lǎanthəə phráʔoncâw who are phráʔoncâw because [of the rank] of their mothers or who were mòmccâw and raised to phráʔoncâw are both phrácâw lǎanthəə.

(62) All these seven categories are phráʔoncâw, second class.

All these seven groups of phráʔoncâw have equal dignities of 4,000 before appointment to a krom and 11,000 after appointment to a krom.

(63) 1. phrápràphantháwontheə.

phráʔoncâw who are sons and daughters of krommýyn mâad-tàjaaphíthág, the grandfather of the present king's mother, are phrápràphantháwontheə because they are related to the king through both parents.

(64) 2. phráwonthəə.

phrá'ongcâw who are the grandchildren of a previous king and are phrá'ongcâw because of their mother['s rank], or were mòmçâw and raised to phrá'ongcâw, are all phráwonthəə.

(65) 3. phrásămphantháwonthəə.

The phrá'ongcâw [children] of the krom phráráadcháwanlăn (sub-deputy king) and of the câwfáa son of the older sister of phrábàad sòmdeđ phráphúđthájôđfáa (Rama I) are phrásămphantháwonthəə.

(66) All these three categories are phrá'ongcâw, third class.

When phrá'ongcâw of these three categories were still mòmçâw they had dignities of only 1,500, but when they became phrá'ongcâw the law provides no position which would clearly indicate the amount of their dignity. It seems that in olden days they were treated as royal grandchildren. But the practice of the present reign has been that if they are phrá'ongcâw their dignity remains at 1,500 or the dignity is not mentioned at all. Allowing a dignity of 1,500 does not seem correct. But when they are appointed to a krom they will get 11,000, the same as princes of the waṇṇâa and the royal grandchildren of all seven categories mentioned earlier, which would be quite correct. phrá'ongcâw of these categories, considered separately from those of the waṇṇâa, are third class. But after being appointed to a krom they can be considered as belonging to the same category as those of the waṇṇâa.

(67) The prefatory titles are not regulated for number but vary according to the reign.

Altogether at present there are fifteen prefatory titles for the three classes of phrá'ongcâw. In the future if king after king succeeds to the throne in this dynasty the number of prefatory titles in each class will increase by one or two

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in each reign. For câwfáa the usage should be according to the order in the royal family, like phrá'oncâw, adding only the title sömdèd in front. For example, sömdèd phráborom 'ajjákaathæ câwfáa, sömdèd phrácâw borommáwonthæ câwfáa, and so on in this way.

(68) The meaning of the prefatory titles

The prefatory titles for princes which have direct meanings like 'ajjákaathæ (king's grandfather), phîijaa-thæ (king's older brother), nóonjaathæ (king's younger brother), lûugjaathæ (king's sons), and lăanthæ (king's grandson) are old. They indicate real kinship to the king. But the words like borommáwonthæ, râadcháwóráwonthæ, wóráwonthæ, bówóráwonthæ, pràphantháwonthæ, and sămphantháwonthæ do not have any specific meaning. They are only honorific terms for the senior family lineages, the lesser lines, and the related lines. These terms are new [and are used] because the words with direct meanings like câwpâa-thæ (king's older paternal aunt), phrácâw lunthæ (king's older uncle) are not euphonioush. So the term borommáwonthæ is used.

(69) As for râadcháwonthæ, it would be incorrect to call them lăanthæ because their dignity is greater than lăanthæ. It is difficult to call them by a term indicating direct [relation to the king] so they are called in this way.

(70) Regarding the group of wóráwonthæ and bówóráwonthæ, they have the same dignity as lăanthæ but they cannot be called lăanthæ because all four levels of the phráwóráwonthæ are of senior lineages. To refer to them all collectively as câwnaaj (royal family) of the king would be incorrect--inappropriate for the various groups--so another term is used. It is the same with pràphantháwonthæ and sămphantháwonthæ.

(71) The various terms spoken of here are [chosen] for their euphony, honor and appropriateness to the rank. But one must understand that when the appellation phrá?...thəə is used it refers to the phrá?... of a particular king. For example, sons and daughters of the wannāa (deputy king) cannot be called phrácāw lūugthəə wannāa. People who called them thus, as has happened in the past, committed an offence every time. Later, when I was receiving petitions, I met with two or three petitioners who called [these princes] phrácāw lūugthəə wannāa and had to be punished. This corresponds to the tradition of giving the date of an era. One must also use the year of the reign of the particular king.

(72) Prefatory titles granted to special royalty.

There is another special kind of prefatory title which originated in the present reign. krom sōmdèd phrásūdaa rád-tànáráadchápràjuun is the sister of krommýyn mādtajaaphíthág, my grandfather on my mother's side, and she is considered my maternal great-aunt. From the point of view of the royal family of King phrábàad sōmdèd phrácōomklāw (Rama IV) she is a phrácāw ráadcháwōráwonthəə, but this lady took care of me from the time when I was very young until I grew up, just as if she were my mother. So I allowed her to be called phrá?aj-jíkaathəə according to my mother's line. As for kromphrá? pāwārēed wāríjaalonkoon, if one considers it, he is a phrá-cāw wōráwonthəə, second class, but he ordained me [as a monk] and taught me a great deal, so I allowed him to be a phrácāw bōrommāwonthəə, as if he were my younger uncle. These are the only two unusual cases.

(73) mōmcāwh

The next rank down from phrá?oncāw are the sons and

daughters of krom phrâadchâwanlăn (sub-deputy king) who were not born of recognized wives, and the sons and daughters of câwfâa and phrá'ongcâw whose mothers are not phrá'ongcâw. all these must be mômccâw and have a dignity of 1,500.

mômrrâadchâwon, mômllăwn and the transition to commoners.

Children of mômccâw are mômrrâadchâwon with a dignity of 500. Children of mômrrâadchâwon are mômllăwn with a dignity of 400. After that [their children] are commoners according to tradition.

(74) mômrrâadchâwon and mômllăwn, when connected with the râadchânîkuun (lesser royal line), are simply called môm as another special designation.

There are mômrrâadchâwon and mômllăwn who, having acquired a rank which attaches them to royalty, are called râadchânîkuun. This is an old name for the status of officials who rode the four cháankhâaj [elephants],²³ with a dignity of 1,000, or the cháankhâmplaajchâyag [elephants],²³ máakhlŏon [horse],²³ or kràbyy [buffalo],²³ with a dignity of 800. The tradition of the olden days involved a full complement to accompany the king into battle, but later all these positions were not filled. There were only one or two and they were not called câw (lord, prince) in the government. They were changed to môm like môm kràtàaj raachoothaj and môm theewaathîrâad, who are still living. However, outsiders still call them câw tàaj and câw theewányn. But there are some who have become khunnaan (nobles) completely.

(75) Those from mômrrâadchâwon down dress and wait on the king like nobles, not like royalty; those from mômccâw up like royalty.

Those from mômrrâadchâwon down, when attending the king in olden days, had to wear sŏmpàg (a kind of printed material) like the nobles, but each a different kind. They wore a white sash, not a colored one, and they could not wear clothes of

varied designs and many colors like those who had truly royal rank. In the royal family those from mòmcaŋ up could dress in any manner when attending the king without offence.

End of ranks in the royal family.

(76) Titles conferred on princes by the king.

Here we shall talk about the positions which the king can confer, according to his favor, on members of the royal family, whether câwfâa, phrá'ŋcâw or mòmcaŋ. There are seven classes

1. waŋnâa. The first one is the krom phráráadcháwaŋ bəwəŋ səthāan moŋkhon fàajnáa. Sometimes there was one, sometimes two. If there was only one he was usually called krom phráráadcháwaŋ. If there were two one was called phrá-banthuunjàj (senior phrá...) and the other phrábanthuunnóoj (junior phrá...). They were called phrábanthuun because an order from either one was called a phrábanthuun and they were both referred to [by this term] because they had the rank of waŋnâa (deputy king).

(77) 2. waŋlǎŋ. The second was krom phráráadcháwaŋ bəwəŋ səthāan phímúg fàajlǎŋ. Sometimes there was one, sometimes two. However, as it happens, [only] one was called krom phráráadcháwaŋ. It is not known what the other was called though he had the same rank and power as the krom phráráadcháwaŋlǎŋ. This happened only once, unlike the waŋnâa, of which there were two more often. The krom phráráadcháwaŋlǎŋ was also called either phrábachaa or phrábanthuun.

Class 3. krom sǝmdèd phrá'²⁴

Class 4. kromphrá'

Class 5. kromlǎŋ

Class 6. kromkhǔn

Class 7. krommǝyn

၂။ ဖုတ်ဝေဒနာ
 ဒဏ္ဍိယအင်္ဂါတရား
 ကျွန်ုပ်တို့၏ အကျိုးပေးမှု
 မှီခိုနေထိုင်သူများ
 ပြုစုပေးပါမည် (၀၈)

ក្រុមប្រឹក្សាភិបាល
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[illegible]

- (78) The name of a krom prince is the name of the krom group under him which is the same as the name of the krom administrator.

When a prince is appointed to a krom, which is called tàaṅkrom, people call him by the name of the krom. They do not use the prince's original name. They simply call him by the name of the krom, just as today we say krommỳyn nárêed-râadchâwôráríd. Why is he called that way? The Thai themselves hardly understand the reason that princes are referred to in this way--by the same name as that of their own câwkrom (administrator). For example, in the case of krom nárêed, his câwkrom is also mỳyn nárêedrâadchâwôráríd. The Thai who are confused by this just aren't interested enough to read and think. It is a very simple thing to understand.

- (79) In old books there is evidence that the name is really the name of the group.

In the books which were written in olden days there were phrá'ṅcâw so-and-so who had câwkrom who were mỳyn so-and-so. That is, the original name of the phrá'ṅcâw was still used. But when the king saw that that prince was important, had wisdom enough to be in charge of many people, and had a large group of freemen (khâathaj), he established those freemen who were the masters (naaj) of the groups of serfs (bàawphrâjh) as a krom, with a câwkrom (administrator), pàlàdkrom (deputy administrator), and sàmbanchii (controller)^h, just like the câwkrom and pàlàdkrom of all the phrâj-lũaṅ (royal serfs).^{24a}

- (80) Because of self-consciousness and the liking for long names, names have been developed especially for princes.

The name by which such-and-such a krommỳyn is called is the name of the naaj (master, overseer) who is the mỳyn of that group under the charge of that prince. For example, krom nárêed was originally named phrá'ṅcâw krìdsàdaaphíní-hãan, but the head of his servants, who is the câwkrom is

นั้น เป็นที่หมิ่นนเรศรราชวรฤทธิ เมื่อจะเรียกให้
ตลอดชื่อ จะเรียกว่าพระองค์เจ้ากษดาภินิหาร
กรมหมื่นนเรศรราชวรฤทธิก็ควร แต่ธรรมเนียมไทย
มักจะอายุชื่อเดิม ด้วยชื่อเดิมนั้นเป็นชื่อไทย ๆ โดย
มาก เหมือนหนึ่งกรมหลวงวงศาธิราชสนิท ชื่อนวม
กรมพระเทเวศร์ ชื่อกลางเป็นต้น ชื่อนั้นเป็นคำไทย
มักจะพ้องกับข้าไท แลใคร ๆ อื่น ๆ แลไทยมักจะ
ชอบชื่อเพราะ ๆ ยาว ๆ เมื่อผู้ใดมาเรียกชื่อเดิสดัง
นั้น ก็ดูเป็นผู้ไม่มีอาญา ถ้าบางทีจะเป็นที่โกรธของ
ท่านนั้น ว่าจะเป็นที่ดูถูก จึงได้เรียกชื่อเจ้ากรมเสีย
ทีเดียว ว่าในกรมหมื่นนั้น ในกรมขุนนั้น

(๘๑) พระนามวัง
หน้าก็เป็นชื่อ
ของวังแลวัง
หลังก็เหมือนกัน

ถ้าจะแยกแต่เพียงกรมคำหนึ่ง หมิ่นคำหนึ่ง
ให้ห่างกัน อย่าไข่มะในกลางก็จะเข้าใจว่ากรม
หมื่นนั้น เหมือนในกรมพระราชวังบวรนั้น คือวัง
ของวังหน้านั้นเรียกวังบวรสถานมงคล วังของวัง
หลังนั้นเรียกว่าวังบวรสถานพิมุข เต็มในกรมเข้าข้าง
หน้า กรมนั้นแปลว่าหมู่ ในกรมก็คือหมู่ก็เป็นในหมู่
พระราชวังบวรสถานมงคล ในหมู่พระราชวังบวร-
สถานพิมุข ซึ่งไม่มีชื่อเจ้ากรมออก เรียกชื่อวังหน้าแทน
ในสองกรมนี้เพราะวังหน้าวังหลังมีอำนาจที่จะตั้งขุน-
นางในกรมมาก จึงได้เรียกชื่อวังเสียเป็นประมาณว่า
ในกรมวังนั้น ๆ เหมือนหนึ่งเจ้านายทั้งปวง บ้านก็
เรียกว่าวังทุกองค์ ที่เป็นเจ้านายผู้ใหญ่ ไม่เรียกออก
ชื่อว่าวังของพระองค์นั้นพระองค์นี้ก็มี เหมือนบ้าน

mỳyn nárêedrâadcháworrárid. When using [the prince's] whole name one should say phrá'ongcâw krìdsàdaaphínihāan krommỳyn nárêedrâadcháworrárid. Traditionally Thai are likely to be self-conscious about their old names because their old names are, for the most part, simple Thai names. For example, kromlũaṇ wongsaathíráadsàṇṇid was named nuam, and kromphrá' theewêed was named klaaṇ. These names are Thai words and are likely to be the same as a retainer's or anybody else's, and the Thai like long, beautiful names. If somebody calls [a prince] by his old name he will appear impolite, and it will sometimes anger the prince as an insult. So one simply uses the name of his câwkrom, thus, najkrom (of the krom) of mỳyn so-and-so, or najkrom of khũn so-and-so.

(81) The name of the waṇṇāa (deputy king) is the name of [his] palace and it is the same with the waṇlǎṇ (sub-deputy king).

If the word krom and the word mỳyn are said as separate words, without má in the middle²⁵ it will be understood, just as najkrom [as in najkrom] phráráadcháwaṇ bowoon, that is, the palace of the waṇṇāa is called waṇ bowoon sàthāan monkhon. [If] you add najkrom in front, that krom means mùu (group). najkrom, i.e., the group, is then najmùu (of the group) phrá-râadcháwaṇ bowoon sàthāan monkhon, [or] the najmùu phráráad-cháwaṇ bowoon sàthāan phímúg, who do not have câwkrom (administrators). In these two krom they are called by the name of their palaces instead because the waṇṇāa and the waṇlǎṇ have the authority to confer titles of nobility in their krom, so they are simply called by the name of their palaces as an approximation--najkrom of such-and-such palace. It is the same with all royalty. The houses of all of them are called waṇ. There are also some senior princes whose houses are not called the waṇ of this or that prince. Like the house of

thânklaan [affectionate term for the younger full brother of Rama V, sǒmdèd cāwfāa cāturon] which is sometimes called waṅfāagkhāaṅnōon (palace across the river). It is also called the 'Old Palace', according to its location, as it was the palace of the King of Thonburi, and the name Old Palace is also used in official business. This is a well-known palace, like the palace where sǒmdèd kromphrá? [bamràab pǒoràpàg] lives now, which was originally two palaces. kromlūaṅethēeb lived in one and krom sàg in the other.²⁶ The palace of kromlūaṅ thēeb was called waṅnōog (Outer Palace); the palace of krom sàg was called waṅklaan (Middle Palace). Now the two are combined and called waṅnōog. The palace of King phrānāṅ-klāw (Rama III) which is now cìdcāræṅ House, was called waṅlāaṅ (South Palace).

- (82) Using the name of the palace instead [of the prince's name] is the same as using the name of a tamnàg instead of that of a prince.

There are still a number of places which are palaces [but] are called tamnàg. If it is a house where a prince lives but is not surrounded by walls, especially if the building is in a large area [which is] within walls, it is called a tamnàg, and it has status equal to a palace, just as the building where I formerly lived is called tamnàg sūankulāab (rose garden). The tamnàg where two older sisters of King phrābàad sǒmdèd phrāphúthájjōdfāa cūlaalōog (Rama I) lived were called tamnàg khīaw (green) and tamnàg dæṅ (red). The building where sǒmdèd phrásīisuríjeenthāraamāad (mother of Rama IV) and sǒmdèd phrásīisūlaalaj (mother of Rama III) lived, and where I formerly lived, is called tamnàg tỳg (brick). There are also tamnàg kěṅ (pagoda roof), tamnàg phuukhāw (mountain), tamnàg klaaṅ (middle) and tamnàg lāaṅ (south), and many more. They are called this way because of something [distinctive] about the building. Not only are the buildings called by these names, the princes themselves are called the same. For example, krom sǒmdèd

phráthēedsùdaawáadii was called by everyone tamnàg dēen; krom sōmdèd sīisùdaarág was called tamnàg khiaw. All who have tamnàg call themselves by the name of their tamnàg. For example, phráʔon sùbonkòd, though her tamnàg no longer has a single kēn (roof like a Chinese pagoda), always calls herself tamnàg kēn. Even those in the palaces also call the princes by the names of the palaces. This is true of the wanlūan, (king's palace), wanṇāa, wanlān, and any wān. It is only that the common people unconsciously call them after the old manner. The palace of the wanṇāa was in front (nāa), on the east side of the city; the palace of the wanlān was at the rear (lān), on the west side; the king's palace was in the middle and was the main palace. So they were called wanlūan, wanṇāa, wanlān. They were simply called as the people wished because they should not speak the names [of the princes] alone.

(83) All the wanṇāa kept their original names.

In fact the original names of the wanṇāa were retained. For example, the first krom phráráadcháwan bowoon in the reign of King phrábàad sōmdèd phráphúthájjōdfáa cùlaalōog (Rama I) was called krom phráráadcháwan bowoon máhāa sùrāsīnhānāad because he had been cāwphrájāa sùrāsīi phīdsānū-waathīrāad; the krom phráráadcháwan in the reign of King phrábàad sōmdèd phráphúthálēdlāa nāphaalaj (Rama II) was krom phráráadcháwan bowoon máhāa sēnaanúrág; the krom phráráadcháwan in the reign of King phrábàad sōmdèd phránānklāw (Rama III) was krom phráráadcháwan bowoon máhāa sàgphonlāsēeb; and the present krom phráráadcháwan, also following the same pattern, is krom phráráadcháwan bowoon wíchajchaan. But for the first three wanṇāa, if they had to be referred to while they were still living, they were simply called krom phráráadcháwan, as at the present time. An exception was King phrábàad sōmdèd phrápīnklāw (Second King under Rama IV), whose commands were called phráboworáráadcháʔonkaan.

The commands of the krom phrââadchâwan bowaon sathâan monkhon are called phrââadchâbanthuun; commands of the krom phrââadchâwanlân are phrââadchâbanchaa; commands of senior princes are miirâbsânpròodklâw. All this is to explain why the name of a câwkrom is the same as the name of a prince, because [some people] do not understand.

- (84) Traditionally krom sômdèd phrá? must have a prefatory titleh

Those who are krom sômdèd phrá? must have a title preceding the word sômdèd. For example, phrácâw boromwonthæ krom sômdèd phrádeechaadisôn. He cannot use the word sômdèd in front in the same way as sômdèd phrácâw boromwonthæ câwfâa mâhâamaalaa because they are different kinds of sômdèdh

- (85) krom administrators, deputy administrators, and controllers have ranks according to the krom.

krom princes^h from krom sômdèd phrá? down to krommÿyn, have administrators, deputy administrators, and controllers according to the class of the krom. If [the prince] is krom sômdèd phrá?, his administrator is phrájaa, his deputy administrator is phrá?, and his controller is lúan. If [the prince] is kromphrá?, his administrator is phrá?, his deputy administrator is lúan^h and his controller is khÿn. If [the prince] is kromkhÿn, his administrator is khÿn, his deputy administrator and controller are mÿyn. If [the prince] is krommÿyn, his administrator, deputy administrator and controller are all three mÿyn. All these administrators, deputy administrators, and controllers have established names.

- (86) [The ranks] from kromlúan up are only for phrá?oncâw of the first class, except for [someone] with very special virtues.

Princes who have krom titles from krom sômdèd phrá?

down to kromlŭan are, for the most part, princes of the king's palace who are phrá'ŋcâw of the first class. Very few phrá'ŋcâw of the second or third class are appointed. In the reign of King phrábàad sŏmdèd phránâŋklâw (Rama III) it appears that there was a kromlŭan sēeniibŏrírág, son of krom-phráráadcháwanlăŋ, who was appointed kromlŭan because he had fought many wars. In the present reign there is also krom-phrá' pàwárēed wárijaaŋkoon, a monk, who was appointed krom-phrá' because he has more special qualities than other princes as mentioned earlier. There are exceptions for câwfáa who are not sons of the king and several have been appointed kromlŭan. As for the title of kromkhŭn, which is one step lower, two or three princes of the wannâa have been appointed. Besides these most were only krommŷn. The only krom title that a prince of the third class can be appointed to is krommŷn. Not even one has been appointed as high as kromkhŭn. The phrá'ŋcâw of the first, second and third classes with krom titles have a câwkrom, pàlàdkrom, sàmbanchii and they are called by the same names as the kromlŭan, kromkhŭn, but their titles are different some other ways. For example, if a first class phrá'ŋcâw is appointed to a krom, the câwkrom, pàlàdkrom, sàmbanchii are also appointed to phrájaa, phrá', lŭan, khŭn and mŷn accordingly, as mentioned above. If a second class phrá'ŋcâw is appointed to a krom, the câwkrom, pàlàdkrom are appointed to mŷn and the sàmbanchii is only phan. If a third class phrá'ŋcâw [is appointed to a krom], the câwkrom will be mŷn and the pàlàdkrom and sàmbanchii will be phan. Their dignities and royal stipends are different too.

(87) Dignities of various câwkrom, pàlàdkrom, sàmbanchii, caanwaan officials for senior krom princes.

[Under sŏmdèd who are] the king's uncles and aunts, siblings, children, grandchildren, the câwkrom has a dignity of 800, the pàlàdkrom 600, and the sàmbanchii 500 or 400.

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ឈ្មោះ ១១៩ ប
៩ ៤៨៩ ឈ្មោះ ១១៤៨

But if [the prince] is [not sǝmdèd], the câwkrom has a dignity of 600, the pàlâdkrom 500, the sàmùbanchii 400 or 300. If the prince is a senior person he has a caanwaan tamrùad (supervisor of the guard), caanwaan fliphaaj (supervisor of oarsmen), caanwaan sǝen (supervisor of weapons), and a sǝarâwâd sàmian (chief clerk). If the prince is junior he has a caanwaan mǝhàadlég, caanwaan tamrùad, caanwaan fliphaaj, and some have clerks and some do not. If [the prince] is only phráʔoncâw he has two phîilian (companions), one caanwaan and one sàmùbanchii. If the phîilian stay on until the prince becomes adult and is appointed to a krom, they too will receive an annual stipend.

(88) Princes walk according to the order of their titles.

Princes appointed to krom ranks of all levels have dignities in accordance with their original titles which appear in front of their names as so-and-so thǝə. No matter how large or small the krom may be their dignities will always be according to their titles. Whether they have already been appointed to a krom or are still phráʔoncâw, whenever they all walk together, they must walk in the order of their titles, high or low, and within a group they walk according to age. That is, if an older brother has not yet been appointed to a krom but a younger brother has been, the younger must still walk behind the older who does not yet have a krom, according to [their] original [titles].

(89) Gold tray as symbol of rank and cunlâcǝmklâw decorations.

All phráʔoncâw with krom titles receive a round gold tray as a symbol of rank. Some [other] phráʔoncâw do and some do not. But all first class phráʔoncâw received it in almost every reign. If this is compared to the present time, all children born as phráʔoncâw, sons of the present and former kings, were 'commanders' of the Order of cunlâcǝmklâw.

All mòmcaŋ who have been raised by the king to phráʔoncaŋ, constituting a group within the third class, also received it. Few besides these have got it. Generally speaking, there are many other kinds of status symbols for those with krom rank--too many to describe--but the important ones are: phrámaalaa (a kind of hat), khryaŋ lonjaaraachaawáadii (blue enameled gold utensils), pàgkhõnnóg kaaráwêeg (cuckoo feather for the hat)--this can be used only by princes and not by nobles, chàlõõnphráʔonciibʔeew (robe gathered at the waist), phrásʔenfaŋthõõn or fagnâag (sword with sheath of gold or gold-copper), wõõ (covered palanquin), for traveling on land. A phráʔoncaŋ can have only a sàliã (open palanquin).

- (90) The top-knot shaving and ordination ceremonies for first class phráʔoncaŋ are better than those for câwfáa who are not sons of the king.

There is no standard for the top-knot shaving and ordination ceremonies. Sometimes they are large, sometimes small, depending on the king's favor. Sometimes a phráʔoncaŋ who is the son of the king has status almost as high as a câwfáa and will have a great procession for the top-knot shaving ceremony and ordination ceremony. An exception is that any function which belongs to true câwfáa may not be used for phráʔoncaŋ. The bathing ceremony, blue enameled betel trays, dignity and rank, and things which are traditionally believed to be taboo are examples. The king cannot give them to a phráʔoncaŋ so they must be excepted. Judging from things that have been seen, it appears that these first class phráʔoncaŋ, both in law and in belief, are much better than a câwfáa who is not the son of the king, except for certain câwfáa who have status equal to [phráʔoncaŋ] children of the king at the very most. So one can see that this kind of câwfáa has only a high dignity. The people definitely respect more a phráʔoncaŋ who is the son of the king.

- (91) The time of death and differences in the cremation pavilion according to rank.

At the time of death [a phrá'oncâw] is placed in an urn according as his class is high or low and there are symbols of rank for the corpse. It is customary in the royal family, as has often happened, that the cremation is given by the king, decreasing [in greatness] from first to second and third classes in order. However, there have been several individuals who had a cremation pavilion in the middle of the city--a great affair special to the individual. For example, krommyyn mâadtàjaaphithág and krommyyn máhëesüan sîwáwîlâad. There have also been some who got to be cremated in a great pavilion which was for a king or a queen-mother.

- (92) A mòmclâw gets a top-knot shaving ceremony, ordination ceremony and cremation of lower degree

For mòmclâw the ceremonies of top-knot shaving and ordination are royal functions. The top-knot shaving ceremony is done at the phrámahāaprasāad palace and the ordination at wād phrásîrādtānāsāadsādaaraam (Temple of the Emerald Buddha). He receives an annual stipend and he can attend the king like a phrá'oncâw. When he dies he receives royal cremation paraphernalia from the king consisting of a coffin covered with white cloth at best.

- (93) A mòmraâdchâwōn has no royal function and when he seeks an audience with the king he must present himself officially, but he is still considered a relative of the king. It is the same with mòmliuān

A mòmraâdchâwōn is not involved with any royal function. If he wants to serve in the government he must present himself officially like the children of nobles. Even if he has no official position at all he will still receive a small stipend because the king still must consider him as a relative,

[illegible]

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ស្រុកតាមន់

ဒဗ္ဗင်္ဂုလဒေသနာမူလမူလ ၁၁၂၄ လာဗွာဒေသနာမူလမူလ

၆ ဥပဒေနှင့် ပတ်သက်၍ ၁၉၆၄ ခုနှစ် ဖွဲ့စည်းပုံအခြေခံဥပဒေ ၁၂ နှစ်

២. ជួបប្រជុំក្រុមប្រឹក្សាភិបាលក្រុមហ៊ុន ០ ដង

មុននឹងឆ្លងប្រហែល

ក្រុងកម្ពុជា ២០២២

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២៩ ក្រុងព្រៃវែង ខេត្តព្រៃវែង ថ្ងៃទី ២៩ ខែ កុម្ភៈ ឆ្នាំ ២០២២ : ប្រទេសកម្ពុជា

but when attending the king he must stay on the same side as the royal pages, not on the side for royalty like mòm cáw. mòm lúan are similar to mòm ráad cháw on

(94) The tradition of walking in order or rank.

If we compare the ranks according to the order of precedence in walking according to dignities and according to ancient traditions which have been handed down, they are as follows:

- 1st place - phrábanthuunjàj, rank of krom phráráadcháwan
bawoon sathāan monkhon fàajnáa (deputy king)
- 2nd place - phrábanthuunnóoj, rank of krom phráráadcháwan
bawoon sathāan monkhon fàajnáa (deputy king).
- 3rd place - phrábanchaa, rank of krom phráráadcháwan fàaj-
lăn (sub-deputy king).
- 4th place - sǒmdèd phráborom'ajjakaathə cāwfāa (great
uncles).
- 5th place - sǒmdèd phrácāw borommāwonthə cāwfāa (uncles).
- 6th place - sǒmdèd phrácāw phīijaathə cāwfāa (older brothers).
- 7th place - sǒmdèd phrácāw nōonjaathə cāwfāa (younger bro-
thers).
- 8th place - sǒmdèd phrácāw lūugthə cāwfāa (sons).

The [last] five are sons of a king by a princess.

- 9th place - phráborom'ajjakaathə phrá'oncāw (great uncles).
- 10th place - phrácāw borommāwonthə phrá'oncāw (uncles).
- 11th place - phrácāw phīijaathə phrá'oncāw (older brothers).
- 12th place - phrácāw nōonjaathə phrá'oncāw (younger brothers)
- 13th place - phrácāw lūugthə phrá'oncāw (children).
- 14th place - phrácāw ráadcháw oráwonthə phrá'oncāw (nephews).

The [last] six are sons of a king by minor wives.

These two groups walk in order of age.

15th place - sǝmdèd phrácâw lâanthæə, that is, câwfáa who are grandchildren of a king or children of a wañnáa.

16th place - phrácâw wǝráwonthæə, Class 1, phráʔoncâw.

17th place - phrácâw wǝráwonthæə, Class 2, phráʔoncâw.

18th place - phrácâw wǝráwonthæə, Class 3, phráʔoncâw.

19th place - phrácâw wǝráwonthæə, Class 4, phráʔoncâw.

20th place - phrácâw bǝwǝráwonthæə, Class 1, phráʔoncâw.

21st place - phrácâw bǝwǝráwonthæə, Class 2, phráʔoncâw.

These six are children of [various] wañnáae

22nd place - phrácâw lâanthæə who are phráʔoncâw and grandsons of the reigning king.

23rd place - phrápràphantháwonthæə phráʔoncâw, son(s) of krommýyn mãadtàjaaphíthág who is the [present] king's grandfather on his mother's side.

24th place - phráwonthæə phráʔoncâw, who are mòmçâw sons of krom princes, or of phráʔoncâw, who have been promoted to phráʔoncâw.

25th place - phrásámphantháwonthæə phráʔoncâw, who are grandsons of the two older sisters of phrábàad sǝmdèd phráphúdhájǝǝdfáa cùlaalôog (Rama I)e

26th place - mòmçâw [walk] according to the order of their fathers' titles as above.

(95) These traditions are known to all but sometimes there are concessionse

What has been explained here are things which are proper or traditional and known to everyone--the manner of walkinge. But sometimes a first class câwfáa is willing to walk behind another of the same class who is his older relative in order to show respect and submissiveness, but the one who walks ahead does so unwillingly. When it comes to actual status

it must be in the order given. A concession given to another is only an outward thing. But to mix up the order, such as those of the first class walking after those of the second and third classes is never allowed.

(96) câwfáa and phrá'ŋcâw princesses can be [appointed to] krom at all levels.

câwfáa and phrá'ŋcâw princesses can be appointed to krom at all levels. There have been krom sŏmdèd phrá', krom-phrá', kromlŭaŋ, kromkhŭn, and krommŷyn--at every level--, but only rarely and only a few of them. There have not been as many as the krom princes. Princesses of the wagnâa, other câwfáa, or daughters of krom princes, have never been appointed to krom. The order of titles and various traditions are the same as those of the princes.

End of the traditions of order and rank in the royal family, but now I shall speak about women who have dignities, from phrá'agkhrámáhěesŭi (chief queen) to naaŋhâam (minor wives) of krŏme prince

(97) The rank of a woman depends on her father['s rank] so it is very difficult to stipulate.

Regarding women, it is very difficult to say exactly what their rank is because in our country a woman's rank is seldom figured according to her husband['s rank]. It is usually figured according to the rank of her father, so it is very difficult to establish. Even the wives of the king are called by various titles. There is no regulation as to what kind or to what extent. For over 500 years, since the founding of Ayuthia we have never heard of a single instance of the formal installation of a queen of any kind. There has only been the mention of the names of queens in books. And when they were made queens is not known. It is only that whenever [people wished to] call them so, they did. It does not appear that there was a single instance of an installation ceremony.

ប្រធាន

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Three classes are stipulated in the Palatine Law.

They are called by several terms in the Palatine Law, three of which appear to be old and to indicate three classes.

1. Class 1 was called phrámáhěesĭi.
2. Class 2 was called phrá'agkhráchaaĭjaa and had rank similar to phrámáhěesĭi.
3. Class 3 was called mêejûacâwmyan and had rank a little lower, but there were also times when mêejûacâwmyan was raised to Class 2.

(98) Sons of all three were câwfâa of the same class.

The children of all three classes were sômded lûugthəə. Later on there was also a 'agkhrámáhěesĭijàĭ (senior chief queen), a râadchámáhěesĭikhwâa (queen of the right), a phrá-máhěesĭisáaj (queen of the left), and phrá-râadchátheewii. But sometimes there was only one, sometimes called phrá-máhěesĭi, sometimes called phrá'agkhráchaaĭjaa, sometimes called phrá-râadchátheewii.

máhěesĭi were called by several terms, any of which could be high because they were not [formally] established. They can be considered as 'queens' because they were the wives of the king, but there were many.

It is not known which was higher than another, which was the true rank, because there is not a single engraved gold tablet establishing a phrá'agkhrámáhěesĭi. They cannot exactly be compared with 'queens' of foreign countries, but neither can they be compared to anything other than 'queens', because the regard the Thai have [for them], understood by all commoners, is as the mialŭan (chief wife) of the king, but there is no limit to the number.²⁷

(๙๙) มีตัวอย่าง
พระเจ้าแผ่นดิน
องค์ ๑ มีพระมเหสี
ถึง ๘ องค์

ในพงศาวดาร ซึ่งเจ้าฟ้าอุทุมพรกรมขุน
พรพินิต ซึ่งได้เป็นพระเจ้าแผ่นดินกรุงเก่า ที่
๓๒ ทรงแต่ง ได้กล่าวถึงสมเด็จพระรามาศรีเบศร์
ปราสาททอง ซึ่งเป็นไปยกาของท่าน ว่ามีพระ
มเหสีแปดพระองค์ มีพระราชโอรสพระราช
ธิดา เป็นเจ้าฟ้าทั้งแปดพระองค์ จะเป็นพระมเหสี
ทั้งนั้นถ้าจะเป็นพระราชเทวีบ้าง พระอัครชายา
บ้าง ก็ไม่เห็นชัด แต่เรียกว่ามีพระมเหสีแปด
พระองค์ พระมเหสีทั้งแปดนั้น ก็เป็นพี่น้องกันทั้ง
สิ้น แต่ไม่ออกพระนามว่า พระนามอย่างไร เรียก
อย่างไร คนก็นับถือเท่า ๆ กัน

(๑๐๐) ต่อมามีต่าง ๆ
อย่างยิ่ง เป็น ๔
องค์ ๆ เอกเรียกว่า
ว่าพระเสาวนีย์
เหมือนพระบัณฑูร

ต่อมาก็มีองค์ละ ๑-๒-๓-๔ แต่ไม่ได้
กำหนดว่าใครเป็นอะไรแน่ เป็นแต่เมื่อจะเรียก
ชื่อ ก็เรียกตามใจผู้ที่เรียกจะเห็นเพราะ ที่องค์ใดเป็น
ใหญ่องค์หนึ่งคนทั้งปวงมักเรียกว่าพระเสาวนีย์ คำ
ที่เรียกว่าพระเสาวนีย์นั้นเหมือนพระบัณฑูร สันนิษฐาน
กันว่าเป็นอัครมเหสี

(๑๐๑) แดกอนดูเหมือน
พระมเหสีออกหน้า
มากกว่าลับอยู่
แต่ข้างใน เล็ก
ธรรมเนียมออก
หน้ามเหสีจึงไม่
ตั้งมีตัวอย่างต่าง ๆ
ให้เห็นได้แต่ที่มีเหตุ
จึงปรากฏชื่อ

แต่ในเรื่องราวหนังสือหน้าหาโบราณ ๆ
ดูเหมือนพระมเหสีออกหน้ามาก ครั้นภายหลังมา
พระมเหสีก็เียบเข้าทุกที เพราะผู้หญิงเกิดเป็นธรรม
นิยมปิดซ่อนกันขึ้น ข้างในไม่ได้ออกมาข้างหน้า ๆ
ไม่ได้เข้าไปข้างใน แต่ก่อน ๆ นั้นเวลาเจ้าแผ่นดิน

(99) An example of a king having as many as eight phrámahēesīi.

In the chronicle written by cāwfāa ʔūthumphoon kromkhūne phoonphīnīd who was the thirty-second king of Ayuthia, it is mentioned that sōmdèd phráraamaathībèed praasàadthoon, his great-grandfather, had eight phrámahēesīi, and all eight had sons and daughters who were cāwfāa. It is not clear whether they were all phrámahēesīi, or whether some were phráráadchá-theewīi and some phráʔagkhráchaajaa. But it is said that he had eight phrámahēesīi and that all eight of them were sisters. Their names or what they were called does not appear. People regard them all as equal.

(100) Later on it was different, there being four [queens], the principal one being called phrásāwánīi, like phrá-banthuune

Later on kings each had one, two, three or four [queens], but which was which is not clearly stipulated. It was just that whenever their names were mentioned the person referring to them called them whatever he wished which sounded pleasing. When one of them was senior [in favor, importance] everyone was likely to call her phrásāwánīi. The word phrásāwánīi is like phrábanthuun (i.e., 'command')e It was assumed that she was ʔagkhrámahēesīi (chief queen)e

(101) It seems that in earlier days phrámahēesīi appeared in public rather than living cloistered in the palacee When the custom of appearing in public was stopped máhēesīi were not appointed. There are various examples to be seen; when there was a reason their names have appeared.

In stories in ancient books it seems that phrámahēesīi often appeared in public. Later phrámahēesīi were secluded on all occasions because there arose a custom for women to be cloistered. Those in the Inner Palace (women's quarters) could not go outside and those from the outside could not go into the Inner Palace. But before that, when a king appeared

phrámahēesīi and phrásànōm accompanied him to the audience hall. It seems to be like this in Burma today, as I have read in a book by an Englishman in which he says that when one goes to an audience with the King of Burma there are phrámahēesīi and phrásànōm present too. But in our country women have not been present for a very long time. It is not known why they didn't appear or when they stopped coming out. It seems that because women didn't come out to receive guests they went into seclusion.

(102) A phrámahēesīi who appeared once was sùrìjoothaj.

Searching through the chronicles, at the beginning there is no mention of any phrámahēesīi until we learn the name phrásùrìjoothaj, the phrámahēesīi of phrámahāacàgkràphád. At first her name does not appear, nor any mention of her. Later on she died, clothed as a king, having accompanied her husband into battle. An enemy elephant was pursuing her husband so she drove her elephant out to meet the enemy elephant, helping her husband's elephant to escape. The enemy slew her right on the elephant's neck. For this reason she is mentioned in this one story.

(103) Another time, kromlūaṇ joothaathīb and [kromlūaṇ] joothaathēeb in the reign of King phédraachaa were not installed; they must have remained kromlūaṇ as before.

At another time King phrámahāabùrùd, who was not of the royal family, usurped the kingdom and became king for one reign. He chose his original wife as phrámahēesīiklaaṇ, the younger sister of the former king as māhēesīikhwāa, and the daughter of the former king as māhēesīisāaj. These two princesses had already been appointed kromlūaṇ when their older brother and father was still alive. While they are considered as phrámahēesīi it does not seem that there was any change in their

rank at all. They must have been called kromlŭaŋ as before. It was only that the king used the term allowing them to be máhěesŭi [and so] everyone considered them to be máhěesŭi.

(104) For several reigns after that there were many câwfáa in each reign, but it does not appear that anything else was said. It was only said that this or that câwfáa or phrá'ŋcâw, some of whom were phrámahěesŭi, some phrá'agkhráchaaŋaa, and some phráráadchátheewii, for they were not always called the same, had so many sons who were such-and-such câwfáa.

(105) kromlŭaŋ 'aphajnúchíd, kromlŭaŋ phíphídmontrii and câwfáa sǎŋwaan are examples.

Then there occurred an unusual event which is clearly given in the reign of King phráborommáraachaathíráad, who is called phráborommákòd. He usurped the throne from his own relatives but he considered his honor to be that of a king who had conquered an enemy and won the land, so he appointed his two original mòmháam (wife), who were distant relatives, as kromlŭaŋ 'aphajnúchíd and kromlŭaŋ phíphídmontrii. The former is said to have been phrá'agkhrámáhěesŭi, the latter phráráadchámáhěesŭi. câwfáa sǎŋwaan, one of his younger sisters, must have remained a câwfáa as before, but she is said to have been máhěesŭi also. He had as many as 19-20 sons and daughters who were all câwfáa alike.

(106) In another reign the king had two younger sisters who were phrá'ŋcâw and who bore him sons, and both were considered to be phrámahěesŭi. These are old stories long past. If we speak only of Bangkok....:

(107) An example when no phrámahěesŭi were installed, yet there was a phrámahěesŭi, in the reign of King phrá-phúdtájôodfáa.

พระมเหสีแต่มี
พระมเหสีใน
แผ่นดินพระพุท
ยอดฟ้า

ยอดฟ้าจุฬาโลก ส้มเด็จพระอมรินทราบรมราชินี เป็นท่าน
ผู้หญิงเดิม มีพระราชโอรส พระราชธิดาเป็น เจ้าฟ้า
ต่างกรมใหญ่ถึง ๔ พระองค์ ก็ไม่เห็นท่านยกย่องตั้งแต่ง
อย่างไร แต่คนทั้งปวงเข้าใจว่า ท่านเป็นพระมารดา
ของเจ้าฟ้า ก็นับถือว่าเป็นพระมเหสี ตลอดมาจนถึง
พระราชโอรสของท่านได้เป็นพระเจ้าแผ่นดิน จึงได้
ยกขึ้นเป็นกรมสมเด็จพระอมรินทราบรมราชินี ที่สมเด็จพระ
พระบรมราชชนนี

(๑๐๘) ในแผ่นดินพระ
พุทธเลิศหล้า

ครั้นในแผ่นดินพระบาทสมเด็จพระพุทธเลิศหล้านภา
ลัย ท่านได้เจ้าฟ้าหญิงซึ่งเป็นพระธิดาของสมเด็จพระ
เจ้าพี่นาง ในพระบาทสมเด็จพระพุทธยอดฟ้าจุฬาโลก
เป็นพระชายา แต่เดิมมา ดังเช่นกล่าวมาแล้วข้างต้น
ครั้นเมื่อท่านเป็นเจ้าแผ่นดินขึ้น ก็ไม่ได้ตั้งแต่งยศศักดิ์
อันใดอีก แต่คนทั้งปวงเข้าใจว่าท่านเป็นพระมเหสีเรียก
ว่าสมเด็จพระพันพรรษาฯ นี้คำเดียวกันกับพันปี เป็นคำ
ให้พรสำหรับเรียกพระราชชนนีบางพระมเหสีบ้าง ถาบางที่
จะเรียกเจ้าแผ่นดินเองบ้างดอกกระมัง ท่านมียศดังนี้
ตลอดมา จนถึงสิ้นพระชนม์ ในแผ่นดินพระบาทสมเด็จพระ
พระนั่งเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว ต่อเมื่อพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอม
เกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว ได้เป็นพระเจ้าแผ่นดิน จึงได้ยกขึ้น
เป็นสมเด็จพระศรีสุริเยนทราบรมราชินี เหมือนอย่าง
สมเด็จพระอมรินทราบรมราชินี

(๑๐๙)

ยังมีอีกองค์ ๑ คือเจ้าฟ้ากฤษดาภราชเป็นสมเด็จพระเจ้า
น้องยาเธอ ก็ได้มีพระโอรสคือสมเด็จพระเจ้าฟ้ามหามาลา
แลเจ้าฟ้าอื่นๆอีก คนทั้งปวงก็นับถือท่านเป็นพระราช
เทวี ถาพระอัครชายาเหมือนกัน แต่ไม่มีตั้งแต่งแปลก
ประหลาดสิ่งไร เจ้าอื่นๆที่เป็นพระเจ้าน้องนางเธอบ้าง

In the reign of phrábàad sǒmdèd phráphúdhájjǒdfáa cù-laalôog (Rama I) sǒmdèd phrá'amárintháraamâad, who was originally thânpûujǐn [a quasi-conferred title], had as many as four sons and daughters who were câwfáa of important krome. But it does not appear that she was promoted in any way. However, everyone understood that she was the mother of the câwfáa so she was considered to be phrámahēsīi all along until her son became king and promoted her to krom sǒmdèd phrá'amárintháraamâad, the Queen-Mother.

(108) In the reign of King phráphúdhálēdlâa.

In the reign of King phrábàad sǒmdèd phráphúdhálēdlâa náphaalaj (Rama II), he had already taken a câwfáa princess who was the daughter of the older sister of phrábàad sǒmdèd phráphúdhájjǒdfáa cùlaalôog (Rama I) as his wife before, as mentioned above. When he became king she was not given any other title. However, everyone understood that she was a phrámahēsīi and called her sǒmdèd phráphanphansāa. This word is the same as phanpii (1,000 years), which is a word of blessing sometimes used for a queen-mother, sometimes for a queen, and sometimes even for the king himself. She had this title until she died in the reign of King phrábàad sǒmdèd phránâṅklâw (Rama III). When phrábàad sǒmdèd phráccomklâw (Rama IV) became king he raised her to be sǒmdèd phrá-sīisurijeentháraamâad, like sǒmdèd phrá'amárintháraamâade

(109) There was another, câwfáa kunthon, the younger sister²⁸ [of Rama II, by whom he] had a son who was sǒmdèd câwfáa máhāmaala, as well as other câwfáae. Everyone considered that she was either phráráadchátheewīi or phrá'agkhráchaajaa. But there was no unusual appointment of any kind. There were many other princesses, some whom were younger sisters, and some aunts, but they did not have câwfáa sons and daughters so they are not mentioned.

(110) The reign of King phránâṅklâw.

During his reign King phrábàad sǒmdèd phránâṅklâw (Rama III) had no princesses as wives or phráráadchátheewii, and he had no sons who were câwfáa.

(111) The reign of King phrácǒmklâw.

When it comes to the reign of King phrábàad sǒmdèd phrácǒmklâw (Rama IV), he invented new titles for phrá'ǒṅcâw sǒmáṇád and phrá'ǒṅcâw ramphəej, who were the mothers of câwfáa and who were considered to be phráráadchátheewii. He let them be called phránaañthəə or sǒmdèd phránaañthəə, as appropriate to their status. But many other phrá'ǒṅcâw and mǒmcâw who did not have câwfáa sons and daughters were not changed at all. In the present reign sǒmdèd phránaañthəə ramphəej phámáraaphírom has become krom sǒmdèd phráthēbsì-rintháraamâad as Queen-Mother, like sǒmdèd phrá'amárintháraamâad and sǒmdèd phrásǐisùríjeentháraamâad.

(112) Such phrámahēsǐi are like 'queen-consorts', but you will find no installation ceremony because the traditions of Thai royalty do not utilize marriage.

Foreigners called these two princesses 'Her Majesty the Queen-Consort'h, both while they were living and at the present time. King phrábàad sǒmdèd phrácǒmklâw also clearly called them 'queen-consort' in several places, such as Sir John Bowring's book, his royal correspondence, and in their death notices. In all these they were called 'queen-consorth but you will not find a 'queen' of Thailand who has had a 'coronation' because there is no tradition of marriage among Thai royalty. Actually one should not speak only of the king for there has not been a single marriage of a câwfáa or a phrá'ǒṅcâw either.

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

- (113) Thai practice regarding mialŭaŋ (principal wife) and mianóoj (minor wife). The mother of lûugmialŭaŋ must be mia lŭaŋ, and there is no limit to their number.

According to our practice, those who have many wives and observe [the rule of] lûugmialŭaŋ [and lûugmianóoj] believe that if any princess has sons and daughters by the king, they (the children) are câwfáa, and that those câwfáa are lûugmialŭaŋ. phrá'ŋcâw are lûugmianóojh. The mother of lûugmialŭaŋ must be mialŭaŋ herself. It is also the same with the khŭn-naaŋ (nobility). However many mia lŭaŋ one has [all their] children are lûugmialŭaŋ and [all those] wives are mialŭaŋ. One can have any number of them. There is no stipulation as to the number.

- (114) There is no stipulation of dignity for queen-mothers or for phrámahēsīi.

For queen-mothers, phrá'agkhrámahēsīi, phrárâadchámahēsīi, phrámahēsīi, phrárâadchátheewīi, phrá'agkhráchaaŋjāa, or whatever the senior mialŭaŋ of the king is called, the law provides no dignities as it does for royalty of the Inner Palace, the outside, and for phrásàŋm.

- (115) At death some are honored like a king, some like a câwfáa. Thai traditions differ from those of Europe.

After death a funeral pyre is built in the middle of the city, for some equal in honor to a king, for some equal to a câwfáah.

I can only explain about phrámahēsīi as I have. To make it clearer, or to make them correspond to queens^{28a} of foreign countries is impossible, because the traditions are different. It is the same with the waŋnâa. There is nothing like that in western countries.

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ମୂଲ୍ୟ ୧୫ ଲକ୍ଷ ୭୩ ହଜାର

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១ ប្រទេសមុននឹងសង្គ្រាមក្នុងប្រទេស
 កម្ពុជានៅពេលនោះសង្គ្រាមក្នុងប្រទេស
 ប្រទេសកម្ពុជាមានសង្គ្រាមក្នុងប្រទេស

២ ប្រទេស

២១៩៥ ក្រុងកំពង់ឆ្នាំង ខេត្តកំពង់ឆ្នាំង ២២៩៦ ខេត្តកំពង់ឆ្នាំង
 ២២៩៧ ខេត្តកំពង់ឆ្នាំង ២២៩៨ ខេត្តកំពង់ឆ្នាំង ២២៩៩ ខេត្តកំពង់ឆ្នាំង
 ២៣០០ ខេត្តកំពង់ឆ្នាំង ២៣០១ ខេត្តកំពង់ឆ្នាំង ២៣០២ ខេត្តកំពង់ឆ្នាំង

ନେତୃତ୍ୱ
ସମ୍ପାଦକ (୨୦୦)

- (116) Regarding phrásàñm or cāwcōme Originally there were four thāaw phrásàñm'èeg, but in Bangkok phrásàñm are first or second class according to the status symbols bestowed on them. cāwcōm who have phrá'ōncāw [children] are cāwcōmmaandaa, those who do not are cāwcōm-jūuṇaane

Next down from these are the phrásàñm or cāwcōm, who are daughters of both high and low government officials from sēenaabodii (ministers) down to phrá' and lūaṇ, who are happy to offer them to the king to serve in the Inner Palace. According to ancient tradition, four were raised to thāaw phrá'e sàñm'èeg with different names like the nobility. But here at Bangkok they have never been appointed. It is only when the senior cāwcōmmaandaa who is very much favored is given a decoration of the first class that she is considered to be phrásàñm'èeg. If she receives a decoration of the second class she is phrásàñmthoo. Any cāwcōm who has phrá'ōncāw [children] is called cāwcōmmaandaa. Those who do not have phrá'ōncāw are called cāwcōmjūuṇaan (cāwcōm serving ladies). There are only [these] two kinds.

- (117) The senior wife of the waṇṇāa has no rank. It is only that people call her sàdèdkhāṇṇaj, as in the palaces of krom princes.

I have never heard that a princess who was a wife of a waṇṇāa was appointed to be any kind of phrá'. For example, Princess rōdcānaa, the mother of cāwfāa phīkunthōṇ, is only called cāw rōdcānaa.

phrá'ōncāw daaraa, the mother of cāwfāa 'ìdsàráphon, is still phráwōráwōṇthəə phrá'ōncāw as before, but people in the palace of the waṇṇāa call her sàdèdkhāṇṇaj. This is just like a phrá'ōncāw who is a wife of a krom prince. The servants in that krom will also call her sàdèdkhāṇṇaj. There is no distinction between them.

- (118) Wives of the waṇṇāa who have children are sometimes

[illegible]

called câwcohmaandaa,²⁹ sometimes maandaa. Wives of krom princes who are given to them by the king are called khâanajtâanwan plus their names and their fathers' name.

All the mômhâam (commoner wives) of the wannâa are called môm. If they have children they are sometimes called coommaandaa, or simply maandaa. Wives of krom princes who have been given by the king are called khâanajtâanwan plus their names together with their fathers' names. Officially they have no title but people call them môm. This word cannot be used when addressing the king. Their original names must be used. If they are wives from a foreign tradition they are called naan-hâam. But nowadays women are very excited about môm, both the wives of princes and nobles, whether only môm-câw or a high noble or a low one, as long as they are wives they are called môm. Whether or not this comes from the word "ma'am" [English] I do not know, but this môm has been used for people of high and good family, whether male or female. For example, the **grandfather** of phrájaa pháadsàkoráwon and krommýyn nárinthoon, before becoming a noble and a prince [respectively],³⁰ were called môm. Even today there are some people of high standing who still call [their fathers and uncles] mômphôo and môm-lun. But this is rare. Since the word môm has been used to refer only to wives they have become self-conscious about it.

Wives of princes who would be câw (princesses) must be real câw. They cannot emulate their husbands. Even if she is a princess she cannot take her husbands krom title as is the custom in Europe.

Those who are the wives of câw can also be 'princesses'. [But] to have a wife who is a 'princess' one must choose one who is already a 'princess herself'. A commoner cannot become a 'princess' because of her husband. Even if she is already a 'princess' she cannot take the krom [title] of her husband. It can only be because of herself.

End of the subject of married women with titles.

Notes on the essay

- 1 The king's usage of the term 'Laos' is more inclusive than modern usage, which would not likely include the Shans and often not the Thai of Northern Thailand either. In the West we would normally limit the term to Laotians.
- 2 Attribution of this law to the founder of Ayuthia is probably due to the incorrect date given in the law and repeated here. It should be 1468 (cf. Wyatt: 1967). The full name of the king as given in the introduction to the law is: sǒmdèd phrácâw raamaathíbodii borommátrajlôogkà-nâad máhāamonkud thêebmánúd wísùdsuríjāwon ʔonphúdthaaṇ-kuun borombôophíd phráphúdthácâwjùuhūa.
- 3 One category specified in the Palatine Law has been omitted. There was also stipulated that the son of a queen referred to as mêcjuāmyan should hold the position of ʔupàràad and that he should be second only to the sǒmdèd nòc phráphúdthácâw. Both these princes succeeded to the throne one after the other, but no rule of succession was stated in the law.
- 4 In Cambodia this title, in its Cambodian form chauféa, was held by the chief minister (cf. Fourès: 1882).
- 5 The spelling of juan could indicate 'Annam' but that meaning does not seem appropriate here, and as there is sometimes confusion between this spelling and that for Northern Thailand, an error has been assumed.
- 6 Rama V did himself reinstitute the custom of naming his sons as titular heads of various towns, similar to the European custom, but they were without administrative responsibility and received no special benefits.
- 7 The abode of Siva.
- 8 A legendary swan-like bird, traditionally a vehicle of Brahma but in these ceremonies apparently it is associated with Siva.

- 9 This system of dividing up administrative functions into various krom derives from Cambodia though the function of these krom in Thailand is not exactly the same (cf. Fourès: 1882)^e What the numerical designations of dignities originally referred to is not certain. Generally people think it referred to râj of land, but more likely it referred to manpower controlled, and finally came to be only a convenient means of ranking. (cf. Wales, 1934).
- 10 The titles ʔùpàràad and waṇṇâa refer to the same person and office. For the full formal title see section (72), in which shortened forms of the title are also explained.
- 11 This date should be A. D. 1448.
- 12 -kùmaan is Sanskrit kumāra 'son' and in Thai may be applied to very young princes. -wárooród is also a royal word for 'son' but can apply to any age level.
- 13 -ísūan and -idsará- are both variants of 'Siva', the former from Sanskrit, the latter from Pali.
- 14 Note that mákùd is a variant of monkùd as given in section (21)^e
- 15 The younger brother referred to lived only one day and was a phráʔoncâw. Thus any higher rank would have had to have been conferred posthumously.
- 16 This title and name was conferred on her by her son, Rama II. There is no record of her being given any title by Rama I.
- 17 According to the lunar date given this should be the 16th.
- 18 The lunar date given in the text is unintelligible, perhaps through a misprint, but if March 1 is correct it is as given here in bracket^e
- 19 This entire paragraph is a later addition as the publication referred to was not until eight years after this essay was written. Also the last sentence simply refers to the detailed information already provided^e

- 20 The terms pùu and jâa normally refer to one's paternal grandfather and grandmother, but here to their siblings who would be called pùunóoj, jâanóoj in common speech.
- 21 This deputy king was the oldest son of the Second King under Rama IV and a cousin of Rama V.
- 22 This heading is an error, perhaps in printing. The prefatory title is as given in the text: phrácâw lăanthəə.
- 23 Apparently these were animals used in war but, at least for the elephants, similar terms apply to animals used in catching and taming wild elephants in modern usage. The meaning of the terms in this context could not be determined.
- 24 A few years after writing this essay apparently another title was added to this list, sǒmdèd krom phrájaa, which was then the highest conferred title below the wajlăj. Note also that the position of the title sǒmdèd is first if the prince has that title from birth, as in sǒmdèd krom phrájaa bamràab pǒoràpàg, who received this title in 1885.
- 24a The term phrâj has usually been translated 'slave' for lack of a better term, but I prefer the word 'serf'. In Europe serfs were bound to the land whereas in Thailand they were bound to naaj (masters, overseers), but in all other respects their status was similar. thâad were more nearly like slaves, in the sense of 'bond servant, bond slave'.
- 25 The pronunciation krommámýyn, as one word, is usual.
- 26 Both were sons of Rama I and the latter became the wajnáa under Rama III.
- 27 Note that Rama V apparently excludes phrásàñǒm (minor wives) from consideration here.
- 28 The text has younger brother in error.
- 28a The Thai tradition differs most significantly in the

number of wives a king could have, for the status of European queens also depended on their producing an heir, and they often had no coronation until that was accomplished--and sometimes not even then. There are many differences, but in these respects at least the two traditions are not so very different.

29 Inclusion of câw in this term is probably an error, and it is omitted later in the text.

30 krommỳn nàrinthoon was the son of câwphrájaa máhãa-sõmbàd and was married to the younger sister of Rama I who gave him his princely title. This is a rare instance of a commoner being made a prince.

The grandfather of phrájaa phâadsàkōráwōn was câw-phrájaa máhãasēenaa (bunnâagē), who was married to the sister-in-law of Rama I.

DEVELOPMENT OF ROYAL TITLES

Though it is generally accepted that the Palatine Law of King Trailokkanat was derived from the Khmer court, in the absence of information on the Khmer court of that time the degree of similarity between the two is not known. By this time most of the titles of the Khmer mandarinat were in use in Thailand and it seems likely that they were conferred on royalty, as in the Lao areas, with no distinct 'nobility' as there came to be later. This inference is not, however, drawn only from the Lao case. References occur later to princes who bear titles now defined as 'nobles' and an example is Luang Sorasak, the son of King Petracha, but in this case the circumstances may not be especially normal since Petracha was a usurper. Contemporary European accounts of seventeenth century Siam provide much information about noble titles but seldom mention princes. However, La Loubère notes that the Portuguese translate the highest noble title as 'prince' and says royal princes never had such titles.

The Sukhothai title for a king, khūn, had been replaced by the time of King Ram Kamheng's grandson, Lithai, who bore the title phájaa, but it is not clear who then might have borne the title khūn though it was certainly used. In Ayutthia the king acquired much more exalted titles and phájaa was applied to viceroys of tributary states and to foreign rulers, and perhaps the heads of some administrative units, some of whom bore additional titles which might have been appropriate to princes. khūn was now a very common title for officials though their assigned dignities (sàgdīnaa) covered a fairly wide range.

For the history of the royal titles as described by King Chulalongkorn we are indebted to a few all too brief statements by Prince Damrong, on which the following are based. The specific title for princes continued to be simply cāw, as in other Thai states, until the late Ayutthia period at which time cāwphrá? came to be used, and sometimes just phrá?. The first use of cāwfáa in Thailand comes in the middle of the sixteenth century when, follow-

ing his victory over the Thai, King Bayinnaung of Burma established Thammaraja as King of Siam with the Shan title of câwfáa. This title was continued by his sons, Naresuan and Ekathotsarot, but during the reign of the latter this title was bestowed on his royal children, beginning the present usage, and Dutch records of this time contain a letter dated 1612 in which this title first appears. Near the end of the Ayuthia period King Thaisa had established that children of câwfáa princesses should also bear that same title by virtue of their mother's rank, perhaps with the same restrictions against a princess marrying below her rank as were in effect when Rama V was writing. We may assume that until this time, though a relatively new title was in use for the king's children, their descendents were simply câw as Prince Damrong has said, and that the first stage of the rule of declining descent had been established, but was then set aside by Thaisa in the case of câwfáa princesses, after the Khmer pattern.

The title phrá'əncâw is said to have been established by King Petracha, the usurper following the death of King Narai. The title phrá'əŋ had already come into use for officials of high rank who were not câw, including children of the king whose mothers were not of câw rank. Some of these at least were now made câw, which was the prerogative of the founder of a new dynasty.

The title mòmçâw is said to have come into use during the reign of King Barommokot at the end of the Ayuthia period. In this case too the title mòm had already been in use since the reign of King Narai for certain officials who were not câw. One may also note that câwmòm was a title for non-royal wives of Northern Lao princes (see below), and is also the title of the Prince of Chiengrung, the Thai Lue state in Yunnan (though the present Prince lives in Thailand).

The title mòmràadcháwəŋ was established by King Mongkut, fourth king of the Bangkok period, and the lowest title, mòmłuan, was established in its present usage by King Chulalongkorn, though it is thought to have been used by King Mongkut more or less synonymously with mòmràadcháwəŋ. Thus the

development of the royal titles firmly described by King Chulalongkorn covers a period of some three hundred years.

The prestigious krom titles were first introduced into Thailand also by King Narai, in this first case for a sister and a daughter. krom (Skt. grāma, 'village') were originally private administrative units, perhaps fiefs, which functioned as villages and, in law, the governor of a town was equivalent to the head of a krom (Akin: 1969). Later they came to function as ministries and finally as departments within ministries, and the krom princes, though sometimes administrators in fact, often only held honorary office. These krom were also a Khmer institution and as late as the end of the nineteenth century the krom of the highest princes were still geographically defined (Fourès: 1882). As early as A.D. 1019 a Khmer inscription states that a certain Punnāgavarman, son of Rudravarman, founded the krom (i.e., village) of Sapta-devakula, 'the descendents of which became the ministers and priests of kings' (Briggs: 1951).

By the latter part of the nineteenth century both Thailand and Cambodia, if not before, had incorporated a rule of declining descent into their respective royal hierarchies which depleted royal titles after four generations, and both included exceptions to the rule depending on the rank of the mother (always specifying that the father's rank would be at least the same or higher). They differed in that the positions and titles of queens and other ladies of the Cambodian court were formally specified along with the rites and symbols by which they were established, and such matters were also dealt with in somewhat less specific fashion in the Palatine Law of King Trailokkanat of Ayuthia. But by the Bangkok period none of the ladies of the Siamese court had any formally recognized position or title (except, of course, birth titles), nor did they appear in court but were cloistered in the Inner Palace, a practice not common to any of Thailand's neighbors. It was not until the very end of the nineteenth century that a Thai queen was again formally and publicly established as such. This was the occasion of the

appointment of Queen Saowapha as regent during the king's absence abroad, along with the formal title appropriate to a ruling queen, sōmdèd phráborommáraachíniinâad.

The Cambodian system includes also a formal title and position, second only to the king, for an abdicated king. This was apparently a highly desirable position throughout Southeast Asia--to be the father of the king--and one found not infrequently, a modern example being the former Sultan of Brunei who abdicated in favor of his son, the present sultan, taking the title Begawan, and still enjoying the enormous prestige and privilege of his former status. In Thailand there has never been any such formally recognized position, but both King Mongkut and King Chulalongkorn are said to have contemplated making such a move.

In polygamous courts such as those of Asia it would seem necessary to find means of limiting the numbers of princes other than normal attrition by death, and the rule of declining descent seem an eminently practical means of doing so. Thus one might expect to find a similar situation in other countries, particularly those which were in a position at some time to provide some influence. But the investigation of royal hierarchies in countries which have influenced Thailand, other than Cambodia, has not been productive. No more than one useful source of information has yet been discovered, out of dozens searched, for China, Burma, Java and India, and none of these approaches in thoroughness the essay of Rama V. From these it seems that there were certain similarities, but only up to a point and nothing that clearly points to a source of the Cambodian and Thai systems.

India can apparently be eliminated for there seems to have been nothing at all comparable among the Indian ruling classes. There are Sanskritic terms used as elements in some Thai and Cambodian titles, but they are largely adjectival superlatives in secondary elaborative titles. In two cases where Hindu titles are used they have been reversed in meaning. The term used in Ayuthia for children of the king by concubines is the Hindu term for a crown prince--Thai:

yawwârâad/Hindi: yuvaraj, whereas the Thai term for the deputy king (sometimes thought of as an heir apparent, though erroneously) is the term applied to children of a Hindu rajah by concubines--Thai: ?ùpàràad/Hindi: uparaj (Malgonkar 1968).

The account of the Burmese court under the Konbaung kings by Daw Yi Yi is not sufficient to do more than suggest some possible parallels, for she is only able to present a somewhat static catalogue of titles with little information of the system in which they operated. Apparently the Burmese system was more complex than the Thai in that more categories of titles existed, and with many more subclasses. There were more classes of greater and lesser queens, suggesting some more complex definitions of the various princely titles. Also we do know from other accounts by Europeans that the Burmese queens, at least the principal queen, did appear in court. It was also possible in Burma to promote commoners to princely rank, which was not possible in Thailand except at the establishment of a new dynasty. Daw Yi Yi notes that in all there were eighteen grades of princes but it is not clear how this number is arrived at nor how they might compare with the Thai titles. The complete roster of Thai princely titles and grades listed by King Chulalongkorn comes to a total of twenty-six, but these include the secondary classes of conferred honorary titles and promoted classes. Successive generations of princes are not mentioned at all in the Burmese account. It is interesting to note, though, that subclasses of Burmese princes were distinguished by titles, not mentioned as such, which were classified according to the number of syllables contained in each, which recalls King Chulalongkorn's comment on the preference of the Thai for long euphonious names.

Van Den Berg's account of the courts of Java is quite thorough, more so than any other accounts so far discovered for any of the countries of Asia except those for Thailand and Cambodia. He also even describes the system of royal titulature in the court at Surakarta as one of declining descent. There is decline in rank over six generations, as

opposed to four generations in Thailand, but the basic title raden is inherited throughout and the rank is designated by secondary qualifying elements. The special title pangeran for adult sons of the Susuhunan (king) is not a real exception since they are raden until they reach majority. Declining rank is nevertheless formally marked and there is provision for the highest title to be inherited, though the condition is entirely different from the Thai and Cambodian cases. Also the distinction between titles borne as minors and on reaching majority is a dimension entirely lacking in the Thai system, unless one takes into account the fact that Thai princes of the highest rank could in some sense be said to have no title until their investiture at about eight or nine years of age. But that would be taking a too extreme view, especially since it is basically a naming ceremony and the title is held from the moment the king his father recognizes him as such. Nevertheless there are parallels and it is worthwhile looking at the Surakarta system in some detail as summarized in the following chart and comments.

| <u>As minors</u> | | <u>On majority</u> | |
|------------------|---|---|---------------------------------|
| male | female | male | female (on marriage) |
| Raden Mas gusti | Raden Aju (children of queen) | Pangeran adipati anom (oldest son and crown prince) | Ratu Pembajun (oldest daughter) |
| | | Pangeran aria | Ratu |
| | | | |
| Raden Mas | Raden Adjong (children of concubine) | Pangeran Ngagehi (oldest son) | Raden Aju |
| | | Pangeran aria | |
| | | | |

As a group all sons of the Susuhunan are Pangeran Putra.

The next three generations (grandchildren, great grandchildren, great great grandchildren of a Susuhunan) bear the

Raden Mas alike as minors, but on coming of age add the further designation aria (those descended from the queen) or pandji (those descended from concubines), though the definitions of these terms are not entirely clear.

The next two generations are Raden bagus as minors and just Raden on reaching majority. Succeeding generations are simply Mas, but at this point there is ambiguity since the same title may also apply to commoners who have achieved high position. Nevertheless it can be said that a designation of royal descent is never entirely lost. Clearly also the basic title raden is inherited.

The title pangeran can also be inherited within the following circumstances and restrictions. If a pangeran dies before the Susuhunan the prince's sons become Pangeran aria like sons of the Susuhunan, but the title is limited to five sons of a Pangeran adipati anom, two sons of the Pangeran ngabehi, and one son of a Pangeran aria. These titles may not be further inherited and cannot be held by grandchildren of a Susuhunan, though another form, Pangeran Sentana, could be conferred on them as an honor, thus continuing the basic title but not through inheritance.

With minor exceptions this system is said to apply also to the court at Jogdjakarta as well. Elsewhere in Java there are considerable differences though in most cases the title raden occurs and is often inheritable. At any rate none of these variant systems seem pertinent to the Thai situation. Even in Surakarta the system within which declining descent operates is quite unlike the Thai system.

The very brief description of the Chinese court supplied by Williams is too lacking in detail for a useful comparison. He notes a primary distinction between lineal descendents of the founder of the dynasty and collateral descendents, and goes on to comment that "collateral branches decline in precedence as the generations are more remote from the imperial line until finally they are simply members of the imperial clan." He also points out though that there are, among the Chinese, only two hereditary perpetual titles, those for the

direct descendants of Confucius and Koxinga, and eight among the Manchus for the families which assisted in establishing the Gioro dynasty.

Within the imperial blood line there were four classes. The first included all blood relations of the Emperor, the other three included blood relations of the Empress-Mother, the Empress, and the consort of the Crown Prince, within generational limits. There are fragmentary echoes of this system in the secondary or kin titles found among Thai princes.

It is clear that there was some rule of declining descent, though it is not yet clear just how it operated nor how it was reflected in the system of titles. Otherwise the Chinese system appears to have been quite different and rather more complex than the Thai.

In the Lao areas, including Northern Thailand, there was only one title, as pointed out by King Chulalongkorn, câw (or thâaw in Southern Laos), which was inherited without limit. In addition there were four functional administrative titles and positions--câwmyan, ʔùpàràad, râadcháwone, râadchábùde--the ruler and three ministers. At least in Laos the positions were all elective but with the stipulation that only princes were eligible for election. In Northern Thailand there was an additional position, bùriirád, and by the end of the nineteenth century a number of other functional, or honorary, appointive titles had been added. In these areas there were also two lesser administrative titles, phañaa and phia, which could be conferred on princes, and in Northern Laos there were two other, sʔæn and mʔyn, which could be conferred on anyone. There was some variation possible in the form of the higher administrative titles depending on the rank of the town to which they were attached, but the pattern remains the same--a single royal title, a small number of administrative titles, and no nobility separate from royalty.

According to Bitard's account the Cambodian court recognized five ranks among wives of the king depending on the individual's own status by birth as royal or common and on the specified rites conducted and symbols conferred. The highest was səmdac prěah qaqkěaqməheisəy who received

all symbols and was formally enthroned. The second was somdac prěah gagkěagrěaccoteepii who received all rites and symbols but was not enthroned. The third was prěah gagkěagciəyie who received only incomplete rites and symbols. The fourth was a princess by birth but received only incomplete rites and symbols and was given no other queenly title. The fifth were cawcōm, of which there were six classes, who were the non-royal wives and received only the basic annointment with water.

The following designations of children of the king are, except for the last group, kin titles like the Thai sōmdeḥ phrācāwlūugjaathəə, for example. The last group is designated by a birth title like the Thai phrá'ongcāw.

Children of the two highest ranking wives:

somdac prěah-rěc-thiidaa (daughters)

somdac prěah-rěc-qaorūəh (sons)

somdac prěah-borommərěccəbottraa (sons)

somdac prěah-gayyəbot (sons)

(The three titles for sons are not explained.)

Children of the third ranking wives:

somdac prěah-rěccəbottraa (sons)

somdac prěah-rěccəbottrəy (daughters)

Children of the fourth ranking wives:

prěah-rěccəbottraa (sons)

prěah-rěccəbottrəy (daughters)

Children of non-royal wives:

prěah-qon-mcah (provided they are recognized by the king, but they are addressed as children of fourth ranking wives).

The ranks of children of princes depended on the mother's rank. If her rank was equal to her husband's the child's rank did not decline, but if she was of lower rank the child's rank did decline in relation to his father's rank but remained the same as his mother's unless she were without title. In the following, titles of rank of the wives of princes are omitted, but their birth titles are included.

Children of səmdac and prěah-qəŋ-mcah princes:

If the mother is prěah-qəŋ-mcah so are the children.

If the mother is něaq-qəŋ-mcah, or without title, the children are něaq-qəŋ-mcah.

Children of něaq-qəŋ-mcah princes:

If the mother is něaq-qəŋ-mcah so are the children.

If the mother is of lower rank the children are něaq-rĭəccəwŭəŋ, and these are not considered royal and are not addressed in the royal language.

Children of něaq-rĭəccəwŭəŋ:

If the mother is něaq-rĭəccəwŭəŋ so are the children.

If the mother is prěah-wŭəŋ or lower the children are prěah-wŭəŋ.

Children of prěah-wŭəŋ:

If the mother is prěah-wŭəŋ so are the children.

If the mother is without rank the children are commoners.

It can be assumed that there were other designations of royal rank and status which were not included in the decree Bitard has reported. Children of the deputy king by a non-royal wife were also prěah-qəŋ-mcah but of lower rank than such children of the king. Also, according to Fourès, the title mcah was used in speaking of any child of the king and this term has the same range of meaning as Thai câw, and in general the same function. So also did some of the highest ranking princes have administrative krom titles and status, as did the Queen-Mother and the Premier Princess of the kingdom.

Though the Khmer account is less detailed than that of King Chulalongkorn the following chart can clarify the parallelism, bearing in mind that the highest Thai princes could also bear the title səmdə̀d.

| | Thai | Cambodian | |
|-----------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| royal | câwfáa | səmdac | 1st. generation |
| | phrá'əŋcâw | prěah-qəŋ-mcah | |
| | məmcâw | něaq-qəŋ-mcah | 2nd. " " |
| non-royal | məmrâadchăwəŋ | něaq-rĭəccəwŭəŋ | 3rd. " " |
| | məmlŭaŋ | prěah-wŭəŋ | 4th. " " |

It has been mentioned earlier that contemporary European writers on seventeenth century Thailand rarely mention royal princes, but there is one somewhat puzzling exception. Jeremias van Vliet, writing of the usurpation of the throne by the military commander, ʔòɔgjǎa kàlaahǒm, who ruled as Prasat Thong, says he made his brother fàajnáa, the only occurrence of this term, which he defines as "Crown Prince". The term could be an abbreviation of the formal title of a deputy king, at least as later used, which ends with the term fàajnáa, "the front", even as later on the popular term of reference to the deputy king became wannáa. (Vliet's understanding of succession to the throne was that the king's brother was the rightful successor. Schouten provides a much more complicated explanation in which succession moves first to the brother, then to sons of the former king, then back to sons of the brother. In fact it never worked this way either, even when Schouten was writing.) But there is a question on the status of this prince, for Vliet also identifies a certain "Oya Ombrát" as the chief of all the nobility. His spelling of this title is no doubt to be interpreted as ʔòɔgjǎa ʔùpàràad. This would seem to designate the individual as deputy king, and since this was an appointive position he could perhaps have been considered chief of the nobility. But the fàajnáa must have been of higher rank, and we may recall that according to King Trailokkanat's Palatine Law his highest ranking son bore another title and his second ranking son was ʔùpàràad. But although the relative rank and identity of these two individuals remains a question, the title "Oya Ombrát" may help to answer another question. ʔòɔgjǎa would, at least at a later time, have been a non-royal conferred title of nobility, but in this case must have been borne by a prince. We may then conclude that the royal/noble distinction in Thailand arose in the latter half of the seventeenth century, after Vliet's writing but before that of Loubère, but we should recognize that the time span is very short for such a change--perhaps too short.

TITLES OF NOBILITY

Mention has already been made of the changing usage of some of the titles of nobility during the early history of Siam. The following list of these titles, beginning with the highest, is as it was during the reign of King Chulalongkorn.

sǒmdèd cāwphrájaa
cāwphrájaa
phrájaa
phrá?
lúan
khūn
mýyn

The title cāwphrájaa seems to have come into use near the end of the Ayuthia period. It appears in what may be its earliest documentation in an inscription of King Thaisa at Wat Pamok dated Ph. S. 2271 (A. D. 1727) (Tri Amatyakul: 1967). Prior to this it seems that the highest title was phájaa, but as we shall see Thaisa may have just elaborated that title rather than create a new higher rank. In Records of the Relations between Siam and Foreign Countries (v.1, 1915) there appears a letter from the King of Siam which is said to have been written by a certain "Chaw pee" . The letter is undated but the editors have suggested the date 1622, as well as the designation of the writer as "Chaw pee", for his title as given in Thai in a footnote was ʔʔogjaa. But his name and position are identical to those of the cāwphrájaa mentioned in the Wat Pamok inscription. If we are right in believing the latter title dates from the early eighteenth century, and if the editors are correct in dating the letter, then they have updated the minister's title by almost a hundred years.

The title sǒmdèd cāwphrájaa is generally attributed to Rama I when he was serving under King Taksin, but the first

documentation of this title being given, or rather of the title and status of sōmdèd being added, comes during the reign of Rama IV, during which three members of the Bunnak family were so honored. (Actually the chronicle of the fourth reign does not seem to include a specific conferral of the title, but there are notices of honors being given the chief minister and he is referred to using the full title.) This title conferred princely status and included a dignity equal to that of a royal prince of the rank krom-lŭaŋ, and the right to maintain a personal krom like other royal princes, though his administrator, or majoredomo, had the title caanwaan, by which he was called, rather than câw-krom, which was not a title but the position held by the administrator of a royal prince's krom, whose title was correlated with that of the prince as explained by King Chulalongkorne

The remaining titles are the Khmer titles which had been in use in Thailand since early Ayuthia times, but throughout this time they were used with the Khmer prefix ʔòog, and with an additional title, phájaa. La Loubère lists the noble titles at the time of King Narai as follows, here transcribed in modern Thai:

phájaa
ʔòogjaa
ʔòogphráʔʔ
ʔòoglŭaŋ
ʔòogkhŭn
ʔòogmŷyn
ʔòogphan

He notes also that the last was no longer used, and explains further that the prefix ʔòog was omitted when one of higher rank spoke of the person. It is usually thought that phájaa is just another form of phrájaa, no doubt because modern pronunciation of the latter is normally without the medial 'r'. But clearly the modern title has replaced ʔòogjaa, and the old phájaa has been distinguished from ph(r)ájaa by the addition of câw, perhaps early eighteenth century changes.

The title câwphrájaa does not occur in any of the contemporary European accounts of seventeenth century Siam, and virtually all the present Thai accounts of that period have modernized titles, but here the designation of office and rank seems to be the same, that of the chief minister, although they did not always have such high rank. European accounts almost uniformly give ʔòogjaa as the title of the chief ministers and few mention the higher phájaa. It is in relation to this title that La Loubère comments on the Portuguese practice of translating it as 'prince', and he says further that it is a title given to appointed governors of tributary states. But one other account brings in to question La Loubère's denial that princes by birth were ever given this title. Tachard, writing about the same time as La Loubère, uses the title in reference to a high prince of the court whom he identifies as a relative of the King of Cambodia. So a question remains concerning the use of the title phájaa during the seventeenth century.

Though all these titles have been called noble that is not quite accurate. The khūnnaaŋ, or nobility, included those with a dignity of 400 or higher and they were the direct clients of the king. In general the division was at the rank of khūn, some of whom had dignities above 400 and some did not.

New honorific names, which usually designated office, were conferred along with a title, and one person might hold more than one office and therefore have more than one honorific name. Indeed, one might also receive a new name without a change of title. Such titles and names applied only to the individual and did not extend to his family, nor were they inheritable, although a noble's son might be appointed to his father's title and office as successor, though with a different, or slightly different, name in most cases. Nevertheless title and name were considered as functional units and designations of particular offices. For this reason it is sometimes rather difficult to identify a particular incumbent. In the twentieth century for a short time

between 1913, when the use of surnames was decreed, and 1932, when titles of nobility were abolished, certain other complications became possible. Two examples will serve to illustrate. The family name of Khuang Aphaiwongse carried such prestige that it was incorporated into his noble designation as Luang Kovit Aphaiwongse, thus when he took back his old name after 1932 only the initial element of the noble name, considered a single unit, was changed, and the latter part simply became a surname again. Prime Minister Pibun's name was originally Plaek Kittisangha, on whom was conferred nobility as Luang Pibulsongkhram. He then legally changed the surname of his wife and children to Songkhram, and finally restored his own given name of Plaek, as well.

The separation of military and civil functions in Thailand had its beginnings during the reign of King Chulalongkorn, which were continued and strengthened in the following reign. This, along with reorganization and modernization of all ministries as well as the establishment of new ministries, resulted in several more groups of civil titles all of which were correlated with the ranks of nobility, which in turn had certain correlations with the ranks of royalty as we have seen. Some of these titles of office were in use before, at least elements of them occur in the designations of certain nobles from time to time, but they may not have been regimented into a civil service hierarchy until the reign of Rama VI. Some, of course, were not new, such as the Corps of Royal Pages and the Palace Ministry, but the description of titles included here for those groups is based on statements of Rama VI. The current civil service system which introduced considerable changes had its beginnings early in the reign of Rama VII.

THE CORPS OF ROYAL PAGES

The Royal Pages had as their head a prince, usually of câwfáa rank, who had no special title in this function. The basic titles of officials of the corps were:

caañwaan
câwmýyn (~ càmýyn)
naajween
càa (~ naajcàa)
naaj

There were generally three, sometimes four, caañwaan, who also held the noble rank of phrájaa or higher. Each of these headed a hierarchy of lesser officials. The highest of these were four hũamýyn who bore the title câwmýyn and had also the noble rank of phrá?, and were also referred to as hũanâaween. Below each of these were four naajween, commonly also called lũanween as a group, who held the noble rank of lũan, and were called individually by their noble title and name plus the designation of function, for example, lũan sàg naajween. Below these were four naajcàa, who were called by this title plus their names, and the large groups of hũmphræc. These groups consisted of forty to fifty people, divided into hũmphræc proper and roonhũmphræc. These were further classified under one group called tônchýag or one of several groups called sãaman. All were called by the title naaj plus their names. Below these were all the novices in training (máhàadlég wísèd).

The titles of these officials were in use in Ayuthian times but apparently not restricted to Royal Pages since they are found scattered through listings of officials in various departments and ministries.

Though higher level officials did have titles of nobility their correlation with other systems of titles in the hierarchy, notably those of other ministries, appears to be more flexible, as will be seen later when the various ranks are compared.

THE MINISTRIES

Under Rama VI a more formal organization of the ministries took place with new titles separate from but correlated with the noble titles, and with a different set of titles for the Palace Ministry. These latter ones were established by royal decree in 1913. For the other ministries there was apparently no formal decree but during the same year specific individuals were appointed with these titles as reported in the Government Gazette (râadchákìdcaanúbègsăa). Under the present Civil Service Commission all government employees are classified in numbered categories, or levels, but the titles listed here have not been abolished and may still be used on certain formal occasions of a social nature such as weddings and cremations, though they are no longer used officially.

| Palace Ministry | other ministries |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| | <u>máhăa'ammàad naajóg</u> |
| <u>máhăasěewóg 'èeg</u> | <u>máhăa'ammàad 'èeg</u> |
| <u>máhăasěewóg thoo</u> | <u>máhăa'ammàad thoo</u> |
| <u>máhăasěewóg trii</u> | <u>máhăa'ammàad trii</u> |
| <u>sěewóg 'èeg</u> | <u>'ammàad 'èeg</u> |
| <u>sěewóg thoo</u> | <u>'ammàad thoo</u> |
| <u>sěewóg trii</u> | <u>'ammàad trii</u> |
| <u>roon'sěewóg 'èeg</u> | <u>roon'ammàad 'èeg</u> |
| <u>roon'sěewóg thoo</u> | <u>roon'ammàad thoo</u> |
| <u>roon'sěewóg trii</u> | <u>roon'ammàad trii</u> |

The title máhăa'ammàad naajóg was held by ministers and royal advisors, there being no equivalent in the Palace Ministry. The three grades of máhăa'ammàad were held by directors-general of departments (krom); the three grades of 'ammàad were held by councillors and heads of divisions (kon); the three grades of roon'ammàad were held by deputy councillors and heads of sections (phàn'ècg). Below these were the clerks (săm'ian).

MILITARY AND POLICE TITLES

Only the titles of officers are pertinent, and only those for the army are included since other branches are the same except for the addition of an appropriate term to designate the particular branch. The titles for the police given below are those in use during the reign of Rama VI, but these too have now been changed to conform to army titles but with the inclusion of the term designating the police--phon tamrùad, phan tamrùad, rój tamrùad, each with three grades.

| Military | Police |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>cōmphon</u> | - - - |
| <u>naajphon ?èeg</u> | <u>phrátamrùad ?èeg</u> |
| <u>naajphon thoo</u> | <u>phrátamrùad thoo</u> |
| <u>naajphon trii</u> | <u>phrátamrùad trii</u> |
| <u>naajphan ?èeg</u> | <u>khüntamrùad ?èeg</u> |
| <u>naajphan thoo</u> | <u>khüntamrùad thoo</u> |
| <u>naajphan trii</u> | <u>khüntamrùad trii</u> |
| <u>naajróoj ?èeg</u> | <u>naajtamrùad ?èeg</u> |
| <u>naajróoj thoo</u> | <u>naajtamrùad thoo</u> |
| <u>naajróoj trii</u> | <u>naajtamrùad trii</u> |

RANK CORRELATIONS OF TITLES

The correlations between noble titles and ministerial office were apparently quite regular until the titles of nobility were abolished, but there were already some differences in relation to other functional offices, and early in the reign of Rama VI the ranks of officials in the Palace Ministry, the Royal Pages and the police were specifically equated with army ranks. These correlations were quite straightforward, being on a one to one basis, but resulted in some differences in the noble title held and the rank of office as compared with other ministries.

Correlations between noble rank and ministerial office, with occasional exceptions, were as follows below. They were not established by decree, but the practice was as given, and the few exceptions involve army ranks. The Palace Ministry was not included in this system and doesn't correlate well.

| noble title | ministerial office |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| <u>câwphrájaa</u> | <u>máhăa'ammàad naajóg</u> |
| | <u>máhăa'ammàad 'èeg</u> |
| | <u>máhăa'ammàad thoo</u> |
| | <u>máhăa'ammàad trii</u> |
| <u>phrájaa</u> | <u>'ammàad 'èeg</u> |
| <u>phrá'</u> | <u>'ammàad thoo</u> |
| | <u>'ammàad trii</u> |
| <u>lúan</u> | <u>roon'ammàad 'èeg</u> |
| <u>khŭn</u> | <u>roon'ammàad thoo</u> |
| <u>(mŷyn/khŭn)</u> | <u>roon'ammàad trii</u> |

At the lowest level the two titles of nobility are placed in parentheses indicating that they were not actually prerequisite to the office indicated. It will be remembered too that mŷyn, and sometimes khŭn, were not technically in the nobility.

Correlations between palace officials, Royal Pages, the police and the army were as follows:

| army | police | palace | pages |
|----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| <u>coomphon</u> | - - - | - - - | - - - |
| <u>naajphon 'èeg</u> | <u>phrátamrùad 'èeg</u> | <u>máhăasěewóg 'èeg</u> | <u>caanwaan</u> |
| '' <u>thoo</u> | '' <u>thoo</u> | '' <u>thoo</u> | '' |
| '' <u>trii</u> | '' <u>trii</u> | '' <u>trii</u> | '' |
| <u>naajphan 'èeg</u> | <u>khŭntamrùad 'èeg</u> | <u>sěewóg 'èeg</u> | <u>câwmŷyn</u> |
| '' <u>thoo</u> | '' <u>thoo</u> | '' <u>thoo</u> | <u>naajween</u> |
| '' <u>trii</u> | '' <u>trii</u> | '' <u>trii</u> | <u>càa</u> |
| <u>naajróoj 'èeg</u> | <u>naajtamrùad 'èeg</u> | <u>roon'sěewóg 'èeg</u> | <u>(hŭmphrɛɛ)</u> |
| '' <u>thoo</u> | '' <u>thoo</u> | '' <u>thoo</u> | <u>(roonhŭm-</u> |
| '' <u>trii</u> | '' <u>trii</u> | '' <u>trii</u> | <u>phrɛɛ)</u> |
| | | | <u>(máhăadāeg</u> |
| | | | <u>wisɛd)</u> |

The three lowest designations for pages are in parentheses since they are not titles but designations of groups. The whole group of hūmphræc bore the title naaj, as did the next higher officials, naajcàa, as part of their title. It will be recalled that naajween was only part of the next higher title which also included the noble title lŭaŋ, and that the cāwmŷyn were also phráʔ, and caŋwaan were phrájaa or cāwphrájaa. Thus, though these ranks correspond to the various ministerial ranks they do not correlate well with the noble titles associated with ministerial positions, and most noticeably at the levels of phráʔ and lŭaŋ. It is also at this point in the noble system that there is no overlap as there is between all other pairs of titles. It is here also that discrepancies occurred between army ranks and titles of nobility, which are otherwise quite regular. It seems likely that the correlations were intended to be quite regular but that other factors probably intervened making exceptions unavoidable, perhaps again reflecting the decline in prestige of the nobility as their power waned and the organization of the government became more highly structured and formal.

This rather close integration of various systems of titles and ranks was relatively short lived. Further administrative reforms together with the abolishment in 1932 of the nobility and the drastically reduced numbers of royal princes all resulted in the virtual obliteration of this system of interdependency.

TITLES FOR WOMEN

There are two titles which could be conferred on women as honors but the general use of titles of various kinds by women was apparently unregulated until a decree of Rama VI, issued in 1917, to regulate these matters. The stipulations of this decree were as follows:

naaṇṣāaw was the title to be used to unmarried ladies of common birth.

naaṇ was the title to be used to: 1) married women whose husbands were without rank; 2) women whose husbands held rank below that of phrájaa, but they should use also the husband's conferred name; 3) the lesser, or secondary wives of men of any rank.

khunjĩṇ was the title to be used to: 1) the wife of a phrájaa whether a decoration had been conferred on her or not; 2) wives who had received a decoration but whose husbands held rank lower than phrájaa; 3) wife of a cāwphrájaa who has not received a decoration. All these could also use the conferred names of their husbands.

thānphūujĩṇ was the title to be used to: 1) the wife of a cāwphrájaa who has herself received a decoration; 2) mòmṛāadchāwoṇ and mòmłũaṇ who have received the decoration.

mò(c)m was the title to be used to a commoner wife of a prince (Wives of royal descent, mòmṛāadchāwoṇ and mòmłũaṇ, continued to use their own titles.)

In all cases it was specified that these were titles of reference only, not to be used by the individual herself. It was also specified that married women should use their husband's name, whether family name or new conferred name, together with their own given name, but that informally they might drop the given name.

naaṇ and naaṇṣāaw have continued in printing, but orally khun has replaced them (and also naaj "mister" in most cases)

THE INNER PALACE

The Inner Palace, the women's quarters of the palace, was an extensive organization of considerable importance in the education of daughters of the elite, but was also an effective channel for petitions to the king. The following explanation of personnel, titles and functions is based primarily on the account of Prince Damrong (1938), according to which there were three main classes of women in the Inner Palace other than those designated as wives of the king, who were discussed in Rama V's essay.

The highest class was comprised of the royal princesses who, on reaching majority, held the highest prestige, and the royal princes up to the age of thirteen, when they were established in their own palaces. Both these were, of course, born in the palace. Others from the outside included were mòm câw grandchildren of the king whose fathers had died or who had been placed there by their fathers for education, though boys could stay only until the age of ten, and mòm râadchâw, mòm lûa, and daughters of phûudii (phrâjâa or higher) who had been formally presented to a royal patroness for service and education, after which they might become officials in the Inner Palace.

These young ladies might serve and be educated in several ways. Academic studies--literature, history, nursing, etc.--were normally reserved for the king's daughters who would later become the teachers. Management of the royal household was carried out by naa phânâgnâa who included those of the rank mòm câw and mòm râadchâw as well as middle aged unmarried ladies of noble birth. Young girls of lesser status were personal servants. Young girls of noble birth who showed ability and physical stamina were trained as musicians and dancers.

Except for the king's daughters and those of his wives who had borne him a child (câw cômmandaa), the young ladies could obtain permission to leave the king's service if they

wished. But many chose to remain, and it was from these that the senior officials of the Inner Palace were drawn. Those aging câwcoom of a former king who knew well palace procedures became tháawnaañ, the ranking 'nobility' of the Inner Palace and the supervisors of the various services required. Other câwcoom became câwcoomthâwkèc who trained the novices in the various services. Those older ladies who had not been favored by the king's attentions and were not câwcoom could become thâwkèc who acted as chaperones for any of the ladies who had to go outside the palace for any reason and also conducted any necessary business with men on the outside. Others who had performed various services could become phûurábsañ who received and delivered the king's commands to the Inner Palace.

Even a câwcoommaandaa could under certain circumstances receive permission to leave the palace. If she had a prince-son she could receive permission to accompany him when he was established in his own palace. Also, when aged, a câwcoommaandaa might receive permission to live with relatives. Otherwise they could continue living in the Inner Palace, perhaps as tháawnaañ, or as câwsămnágfỳg, instructors in various skills. Those who themselves had been musicians or dancers remained to teach these arts.

The second or middle class of ladies was comprised of daughters of wealthy non-noble families who were not eligible to be formally presented but who were sent to the palace as khâalüañ (royal servants) in order to take advantage of the prestige of palace training and perhaps even be useful to their fathers in, for example, obtaining noble rank, by securing the assistance of their patroness in pressing the petition. Such assistance could seldom be refused even if it was unsuccessful since it was an essential part of the patroness-client relationship. On reaching majority these young ladies too could leave the palace or they could elect to stay on as servants to their mistresses. Included also in this class of informal novices were younger daughters of noble families who were sent to stay with their older for-

mally presented sisters and be educated. Included here also were the ordinary phánágnan who assisted in the kitchens. Also in this class were two groups who had risen from the lowest or third class. These were the thánaajryan, messengers, who served under a thâwkèè, and the càakhlōon, officers of the Inner Palace Guard, under the chaawmêè, commander of the guard.

The third class included the servants of the ladies of noble birth who were living in the Inner Palace, that is, those who had been formally presented as protégées to one of the royal ladies, and the khloōn, guardswomen. These latter were originally daughters of phrâilūan, royal serfs, but Rama V replaced these with a paid guard.

During the regency of Queen Saowapha there was also an ʔathibodii, minister, of the Inner Palace, but the position was not continued after the king's return.

The title khun (not to be confused with khūn) was applied to those young ladies without birth or other title as long as they served in the palace, but they could not use it if they left the palace service. Outside the palace the title was also used, but there it was a title of deferential address to the as yet untitled sons of phūudii (phrájaa or higher). It is said that the children of câwphrájaa Mahasena (Bunnak) and câwkhun Nuan, sister of the queen of Rama I, bore the title câwkhun (like their mother), and that children of the câwphrájaa by other wives bore the title khun, as the children of a phūudii. Apparently then this latter title became generalized for children of phūudii. Otherwise the origin of the use of khun (Skt. guṇa 'virtue') as a title is obscure.

After the nobility was abolished the title khun became the ordinary title of polite reference and address to all commoners, who had formerly been addressed by various displaced kin terms or simply by name. Now, however, the present king has in part restored older usage of this title in conferring it on distinguished women as an honor and mark of favor, but only in special circumstances can this conferred title now be distinguished from the ordinary polite title of

address. The king, of course, would use no title in addressing a commoner, but might use this title in addressing the person on whom it had been conferred. Also the polite title is only used orally and not in writing or print, whereas this conferred title would be used in referring to the person in print or writing.

The title câwkhun noted above was discussed by Rama V in his essay only as an informal unofficial title used for nobles of the rank phrájaa, adding that it was forbidden in official audience with the king, thus raising a question concerning its usage for the children (and even grandchildren) of câwkhun Nuan. The king made no mention of it in relation to women, but he did refer to the fact that minor wives (commoners) of the king did have specific dignities, as opposed to major wives (princesses) who did not, and notes briefly the honors they could be given as phrásàñm, either ʔèeg or thoo. It seems clear that those who received the higher honor, at least, did then bear the formal title câwkhun, reflecting their status as a câwcoommaandaa in very high favor with the king. Many other informal titles do appear in references to other minor wives who were only câwcoom, but only câwkhun seems to have been recognized as a formal title. The fact remains, however, that although the king says the câwcoom had specific dignities it is not clear what they were nor in what way they were expressed in titles. In this respect the Inner Palace was considerably less formalized than affairs on the outside.

APPENDIX: ROYAL KIN TERMINOLOGY

Royal kin terminology includes many more terms than common usage, some more general, some more specific, and also alternate forms. Here the common term equivalent is included in parentheses. Often, between the prefix phráʔ and the kin term, other honorifics may be inserted for specific persons and such honorifics are omitted here. An example is -borommá-, as in phráborommáʔajjákaa

phrápìtaamáhăjjákaa father of one's paternal or maternal grandfather (puuthûad, tàathûad).

phrápìtaamáhăjjíkaa mother of one's paternal or maternal grandfather (jâathûad, jaajthûad)e

phrámaataamáhăjjákaa father of one's paternal or maternal grandmother (puuthûad, tàathûad).

phrámaataamáhăjjíkaa mother of one's paternal or maternal grandmother (jâathûad, jaajthûad)e

phrápajjákaa great grandfather, inclusive term (puuthûad, tàathûad).

phrápajjíkaa great grandmother, inclusive term (jâathûad, jaajthûad)e

phráʔajjákaa, phráʔajjíkaa grandmother, great aunt (jâa, jaaj).

phráʔajjákaa grandfather, great uncle (puu, tàa).

phráchánog father (phôo).

phrábìdaa father.

phrábìdoon father.

phráchonnánii mother (mêe)e

phrámaandaa mother

phrámaandoon mother

phrápìtùlaa paternal uncle, older or younger (luŋ, ʔaa)e

phráʔaa paternal younger uncle (ʔaa).

phrápìtùtchăa paternal aunt, older or younger (pâa, ʔaa)e

phrámaatùlaa maternal uncle, older or younger (luŋ, nâa).

phrámaatùtchăa maternal aunt, older or younger (pâa, nâa).

phráphaadaa brother, older or younger (phîichaaaj, nóonchaaj).

phráphágkhínii sister, older or younger (phîisăaw, nóoněăaw).

phráchêedthăa older brother (phîichaa)
phráchêedtháphaadaa older brother.
phráʔanúchaa younger brother (nóonchaa)
phrákháníidtháphaadaa younger brother
phráchêedtháphágkhîinii older sister (phîisăaw)
phrákháníidthăa younger sister (nóonśăaw).
phrákháníidtháphágkhîinii younger sister.
lûugthəə child of a king (lûug).
lûuglŭaŋ child of a former king (lûug).
phrárâadchákùmaan son of a king, often young sons before
 receiving formal names (lûugchaa)
phrárâadchákùmaarii daughter of a king (lûugsăaw)

in the following terms omission of the segment in parentheses, (râadchá-) would indicate the child of a prince rather than the king

phrá(râadchá)ʔooród son of a princess (lûugchaa).
phrá(râadchá)bùd son of a non-royal wife
phrá(râadchá)thídaa daughter of a princess (lûugsăaw).
phrá(râadchá)bùdtrii daughter of a non-royal wife
phrá(râadchá)náddaa grandchild (lăan).
lăanthəə grandchild of the king.
lăanlŭaŋ grandchild of a former king.
phrápànáddaa great grandchild (lěen)
phráphaatìkàʔ nephew (lăan).
phráphaatìkaa niece (lăan)
phráphaakhîinaj one's sisters' children (lăan)
phráphaatìyáʔ one's brothers' children (lăan)

RELATIONSHIP TERMINOLOGY

phrásăamii husband (phŭa).
phrásàsăamii husband.
phráphàdsàdaa husband
phráchaa wife of a prince who is herself phráʔoncâw
 (mialŭaŋ).
chaa wife of a prince who is herself mòmccâw (mialŭaŋ).

naaṇhâam non-royal and foreign wives of princes; also used as a general word for non-royal wives of royalty including the king (mianóoj).

mòmhâam non-royal wife of the wañṇâa, but also used as a general word for non-royal wives of royalty, largely replacing the above term (mianóoj).

mòom title conferred on palace officials who are mòmrâad-cháwon by birth; general term of reference and address now for non-royal wives of princes and government officials.

phrásàdsùráʔ father-in-law (phôotaa, phôophŭa).

phrásàdsùʔ mother-in-law (mêɛjaaj, mêɛphŭa).

phráchaamaadaa son-in-law (lûugkhěəj).

phrásùnísăa daughter-in-law (lûugsàphaaj).

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